Bombay Gazette.

Published Twice a Week,—ON WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY MORNING.—Price Rupees 13 per Quarter.

VOLUME XLVI.] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1835. [No. 2,455.

ADVERTISEMENT.

APPLICATION having been made to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, that Letters of Administration of the Estate and Effects of CAPEL ARTHUR HANBURY TRACY, late in the Civil Service of the East India Company on their Bombay Establishment, Esquire, deceased, may be granted to *William Fenwick*, Esquire, as the Registrar of the said Court.—All persons concerned therein, are hereby apprized thereof, —Dated this 19th day of Jany., 1835.

H. E. SOUTHOUSE,
Proctor.

ADVERTISEMENT.

APPLICATION having been made to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, that Administration with the Will annexed of KHURSHEDJEE JEEWAJEE, late of Bombay, Parsee Marchant Inhabitant deceased, may be granted to *Awahbyee* his widow during the minority of his son *Manockjee Khurshedjee*.—All persons concerned are hereby apprized thereof.--Dated this 22nd day of January, 1835.

D. B. SMITH,
Proctor for Petr.

જાહેરખબર *

શ્રી મુમબઈની જુડીકેટરની કુપરી ન કોરટમાં મરનાર ખરશેદજી જીજીભ શ્રી મુમબઈનો પારશી વેપારી તથા રેહ વાશીનુ વકીલાત નામુ લેવાને શાર તે મરનારની વીધવા આવાંબાઇ જાંહાંગુરી એ મરનારનો છોકરો માંણેકજી ખરશે દજી પુરી વચેનો નથી આવેઓ તાંહાંગુ ધી તે મરનારનાં છોલા વીલનું વશીહ ત નામુ લેવાને અરજ કીધીછેજે મહને મલે * એ ઉપરથી ગધલા હેનાં વાધેશ તા હોએ તેહોને જાહેર થાએ*— શ્રી મુ મબઈની તા॰ ૨૨ મી જાંનેવારી ૧૮૩૫

ડી ધી ઈશ્વરીથ*
અરજવાંણનો વકીલ*

THE NEW BOMBAY DIRECTORY FOR 1835.

UPWARDS of two thirds of the Subscribers to the above publication having requested that it be carefully corrected up to the 31st Dec. last inclusive, the Compiler begs to intimate that this suggestion has been attended to; his object being rather to be the medium of conveying correct information at a late date, than what may bear a different character at an earlier period. The *Directory* is now in the Press, and it is expected that it will be ready for delivery by the end of the month.

COLABA, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

BILLS ON LONDON.

BILLS of the *Royal Bank of Scotland*, at 30 days sight, on THOMAS COUTTS and Co. of London, may be had on application to the undersigned, in setts of £150, £200, £300, £400, and £500, at the Exchange of 1s. 10½d. per Bombay Rupee, until further notice; and from parties at Outstations, Remittances on the Civil or Military Pay Offices of Bombay, will be received in payment thereof.

RITCHIE, STEUART & CO.
BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

TO THE CREDITORS OF MESSRS. SHOTTON AND CO.

NOTICE is hereby given that on and after Monday the 2nd Proxo. a Dividend of five per cent, will be payable at my Office, from 11 A. M. to 3 P. M. daily.

JOHN BECKWITH.
Executive Trustee of Shotton and Co.

THIS day, Wednesday, the 28th January, at 11 A. M., Messrs. FRITH, BOMANJEE and Co. will sell by Public Auction, at their Rooms, the following Goods, viz:—A small assortment of valuable Jewellery, Broad Cloths, English Canvas, a few Pieces of Floor Cloths, of small, and one of large dimensions, a large Rattan Mat nearly new, with sundry Bengal and China Mats, Manilla Cheroots, a Cheval Glass, and several Toilette Glasses, and an assortment of Pier Glasses, in Guilt Frames, a few Superior Prints and Paintings in Frame, an assortment of French Perfumery, a China Dinner service, a large assortment of useful Household Furniture and property, belonging to Families quitting the Presidency, consisting of Cots and Bedding complete, Card Tables, Circular and Oval Breakfast Tables, Tea Poys, Chairs, Ward Robes, Couches, Children's Cots and Cradles, Dispense and Cook Room Cupboards, Side Boards, Easy Chairs, a variety of Books, Boots, Shoes, &c.

At Noon,—A Carriage and Horses belonging to a family proceeding to Sea, a Buggy and Horse, a pair of smart Grey Ponies, go well in double or single Harness, and a Chestnut Buggy Horse, with any other Cattle or Carriages, that may offer.

About 300 Dozens of Hibbert's ripe Pale Ale, in Bottle, and about 300 Dozens of Claret (French) of the following denominations:—Ranzan, Margeaux, Graud Lafitte and Lafitte, selling to close an account, and can be recommended, as also a few dozens of Burton Ale.

At 4 P. M.—A Suite of Tents, in good order, with Rowties and necessary appurtenances, now pitched on the Esplanade north of the Church Gate.

NESBITT LANE, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

MESSRS. FRITH, BOMANJEE AND CO., have just received for Sale.

Fine Billiard Cloth at Rs.	8¾ p. yd.
Woolen Table Covers of Sizes	" 4½ ditto.
Fine Cachmere Chintz 2 yards wide for Ladies dresses	" 5 ditto.

NESBITT LANE, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

FOR SALE,—A new double action HARP by *Dodgson* with spare Strings and completely fitted ..... price Rs. 900
A second hand ditto by *Sebastian Erard*, in Case.. " 250
Apply to Messrs. FRITH, BOMANJEE and Co.

BENGAL PROVIDENT SOCIETY.—*Sixth Class.*—A dividend of Sa. Rs. 350 per share is now payable to Subscribers or their representatives, on production of the original Certificates of Admission, accompanied by evidence, nominee's existence and identity.

(Signed) H. J. LEIGHTON,
Secretary.
CALCUTTA, *6th January*, 1835.

SALE BY AUCTION.

TO-MORROW, Thursday, the 29th Instant, YATES and Co. will sell, by public auction, an extensive assortment of Piece Goods, comprizing Grey long Cloths, Madapolams, Doriahs, damaged white long-Cloths 30 pieces of fine Scarlet Woolens, 300 Gross of Tobacco pipes, 200 dozen White pocket handkerchiefs, Cotton Socks, Europe table Covers, Woollen Shawls of a variety of patterns and colors, 2 double barrell'd Guns, Furniture, and a variety of sundries,—and on the following Thursday, an Extensive sale of Saddlery, will take place.

MEADOW STREET, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

YATES AND CO., have received a supply of Silk Racing Caps, fancy patterns, from Simpson and Nephew, new Regulation Military Shakoes, Gloves, Stocks, &c.

ALSO,
A Prime Batch of Manilla Cigars.

FOR Sale, the property of a private Individual,
Glenlivit Whisky, in stone Jars.
Claret, in 3 dozen cases;—a few cases.
Hock, 3 dozen cases, do.
Frontinac, in one dozen cases, do.
And about 40 dozen of prime London bottled Brown Stout.
The whole of the above will be sold for cash, at a very reduced rate. Musters on application.—Apply to YATES and Co.

FOR SALE.

A POWERFUL half English COLT 4 years old, height 14-3½ Color bright bay, with black points, very gentle tempered, and of excellent paces, and well calculated to make a charger, or for harness.
APPLY TO MESSRS. YATES AND CO.

FOR Sale at the Godowns of BECK and Co., the undermentioned Wines, &c. of unexceptioned quality, vizt.

Pale and Brown Sherry, at Rs.	20 per doz.
Port ..... at Rs.	24 per doz.
Lisbon	12 "
Brandy ..... at 15 a	18 "
Do. in wood ... at 3½	per Gallon
Jamaica Rum, at	12 "
Holland's Gin, in cases of 15 large bottles, Rs.	24 per case.
French Liqueurs, of sorts,	18 per doz.
Ripe Hodgson's Beer	6 "
Rum Shrub, in pints,	9 "

General Terms—CASH, or a reference for payment.

FORBES STREET, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

Racket Court
AND
BILLIARD ROOMS
ON THE
ESPLANADE.

COWASJEE MUNCHERJEE AND CO. respectfully beg leave to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Presidency, and those who may arrive from Outstations, that they have taken the *Racket Court and Billiard Rooms on the Esplanade*, which will be reopened on the 1st proximo; and, in soliciting the patronage of a liberal public, they pledge themselves that it will be conducted on such principles as to ensure satisfaction.—Dinner, Tiffin, &c. &c. provided at the shortest notice. Further particulars will be made known at the Rooms, where the rules and charges are exhibited.

BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

For London, touching at Ceylon.

THE fine teak-built Ship "PALMIRA," of 700 tons, WILLIAM LOADER Commander: will sail on the 31st inst., and under positive engagement not to remain longer at Ceylon than *eight* days. For passage only, apply to Captain *Loader*, at the Office of *McGregor, Elmont and Co.*

BOMBAY, *28th Jan*, 1835.

Passage to the Cape of Good Hope.

THE Barque SOOBROW, Burthen, 250 tons, WILLOUGHBY SMITH Commander: will sail for the above port, on or before the 8th of next month, and has good accommodations for a few Passengers.—Apply at the Office of Messrs. *Owen and Co.*, or to the *Commander* on board.

BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

Freight or Passage to London, touching at the Cape.

THE fine new Ship ANDROMACHE, 600 tons, JOSEPH ANDREWS, H. C. S. Commander, is expected from Calcutta daily, and will be despatched in all February: has a Surgeon attached. Plans of the cabins may be had on application to *Gisborne, Menzies and Co.*

RAMPART ROW, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

For London.

THE fine fast sailing Ship "SHERBURNE," of 700 tons, is expected to arrive here early in March, and will be dispatched for the above port, in the following month.--For freight or passage apply to Messrs. *Forbes and Co.*, of whom plans of the cabins may be had.

BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

ON Sale at DIROM, CARTER and Co's. Godown's,
Hodgson's Beer, bottled in September, 1833, Rs. 6 per dozen.
Sherry in wood, Rs. 350 at 650 per butt.
Do. in bottle, Rs. 14 at 20 per doz.
Brandy, Rupees 3 per Gallon.
Old Tom, at Rs. 10 per gallon. or Rs. 25 per dozen.
Hollands, at Rs. 2 per gallon.
Hock, at Rs. 25 per ditto.

BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

PRIME SODA WATER.

THE Undersigned beg to intimate, that they are now manufacturing the above article, with new and powerful machinery, lately imported, which enables them to produce it of a quality equal to any in the world.

Orders from Outstations, accompanied by remittance or reference for payment in Bombay, will be promptly attended to.

SPRAGUE, FRITH AND Co.
BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

FIRST CALCUTTA LOTTERY OF 1835

A FEW TICKETS, and Shares in the above Lottery are for sale by FROMMURZE SORABJEE apposite to the General Post Office, at the following prices viz.

Whole Tickets at Rupees	150	0 0 each
Half ..... Ditto ... "	75	0 0 "
Quarter .... Ditto .... "	37	2 0 "
One Eighth. Ditto .... "	19	0 0 "

TERMS—CASH.

BOMBAY, *28th Jan.*, 1835.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

MR. EDITOR,—As a measure, affecting the convenience of the community at large, you very properly discussed the merits of a proposed act of the Petty Sessions, of removing all Wood Sellers from the Streets and lanes of the Black Town, as it is called of this island.

You have pointed out many of the general inconveniences, attending this act, and the injury also, which many poor individuals must suffer; and I would hope, when the Petty Sessions reconsider the grievance they are about to inflict, that they will contrive to devise some other means of checking the possibility of the communication of fire to such places of deposit.

As you may not have seen the Petition, presented by the Persons affected, to the Petty Sessions, I send you a copy of it. It is expressed in reasonable terms; and it would have been, I think, proper, that due enquiry had been made into the circumstances, they have set forth; but I am told, that their representation was not attended to; and these People have only the prospect of great trouble and vexation, and, perhaps of ruin before them, in being removed to a distance from their customers, of whom many owe them considerable sums of money, which, from not being on the spot, they may find it difficult to recover; and often a whole day may be lost, in going and returning from a distance, to collect such debts.

It, moreover, appears, that, by the order of the Inspector of Buildings, many of the Dealers had, only a few months ago, been at the expense of tiling their roofs; and they aver, and indeed it is reasonable to believe, that they are, on their own account, most anxious and careful to protect themselves from the effects of fire; and probably as much so, as any public authority can be, as their all is at stake.

But, Sir, let me call your attention to the purport of the Regulation, quoted in the Petition, "which sets forth, "that it may be lawful for the Court "of Petty Sessions, on the complaint of any Person, "in consequence of apprehended danger from large "piles of Wood, &c., to examine into the facts; &, in "case of risk, to order the removal of any such mate-"rials." It appears here to be very clear, that the Court of Petty Sessions, is only, on the complaint of any Person, to examine, in the first instance, before they take any step; but it does not appear from the Petition, that the Dealers were told, that any complaint had been made against any of them; and if any such had been preferred against you, me, or any of His Majesty's liege subjects, have not you, I, or they, in justice and equity, a right to know, who the Person is, who has thought fit to complain, and thus endeavour to create us such trouble, as may ruin us?

The Regulation distinctly states that the Petty Sessions are only warranted *to act on complaint*; else they must, as apparently in the present case, *become the Accusers* and *the Judges* which neither this Regulation, nor the spirit of British Justice, at all tolerates; and if the Dealers address Government, showing that the Petty Sessions have apparently exceeded their authority, and are about to inflict on them a grievous injury, even to the ruin of many of them, and to put the whole population to the greatest inconvenience, more particularly the poorer classes of People, His Lordship in Council will, no doubt, direct, that each individual case be enquired into, agreeably to the Regulation, that it may be ascertained, whether any reasonable grounds of apprehension really exist, as in those places of Deposit, neither fire nor light is ever used; and the Dealers have a separate place of abode for their Families.

On such an occasion, it would have been creditable to the Native Justices to have explained to, and satisfied these poor Dealers, that the proposed measure was one, which had every consideration given to it, and that no one individual had been interfered with, who had not had opportunity of showing, that, in his situation, no apprehension, of injury, to the public, could, according to all ordinary calculation, of risk, and in appearance, be apprehended.—This I suspect, has not been done, else the feeling of discontent must have been reconciled.

The praise, bestowed on these Native public Servants, by the Puisne Judge, from the Bench, as having essentially contributed to check the daily scenes of plunder and robbery, so general in former days, would imply, that they must have done something, to show that they were deserving of the regard, evinced towards them by Government; although, if I am correctly informed, the robbers-neck was broken, before any of these Justices were appointed, and by a very simple expedient, which, if actively and steadily persevered in might, in a short time, render it unnecessary to trouble the Bench with many of those criminal cases, which were a reflection on the conduct of the police; and thus also may the inhabitants of Bombay be enabled to sleep in quiet and in security.

I trust you will approve of the above remarks sent you by

PERSEUS.

Bombay, 19th January, 1835.

DOMESTIC GAZETTE.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCE.

BIRTH.

At Mazagon on the 27th inst., the Lady of Captain W. M. Coghlan, Artillery, of a Son.

MILITARY ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES.

ARRIVALS.

2d Lieut. Richard Creed, Artillery, from Cutch.
Captain J Forbes, Staff, from Malegaum.
Lieut. Russell, 11th Regt. N. I., from Surat.
2d Lieut. Henry Creed, Artillery, from Cutch.
Ensign Fenning, 21st Regt., from Dharwar.
Lieut. Harrison, 4th Drs., from Kirkee.
Surgeon James Orton, Medical Board, from Poona.

DEPARTURES.

Lieut. E. Blake, Artillery, to Sattarah.
Major W. Hammond, to England.
2d Member Md. Board J. G. Moyle, to the Cape.
Lieut. Col. Whitehill, V. Bat., to Dapoolie.
Captain Thomas Roe, 12th Regt. N. I., to England.
Col. H. Pottinger, Staff, to Bhooj.
Captain Leighton, 21st Regt., to Mahabuleshwar.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVAL.

Jan. 26th. H. M. Sloop Rose, Wm. Barrow Esq. Commander from England, left Spithead, on the 17th Augt. last, touched at Madeira, on the 29th ditto, at the Cape on the 3rd Nov. 1834, and at Goa on the 21st January 1835.

DEPARTURE.

Jan. 25th, Ship Wm. Nicol, Thomas Kincaid Master, to Greenock.

Passengers,—Captain A. Livingston, 8th Regt. N. I., Lieut. F. Smith, H. M. 2d Foot, Mrs. Smith, and Child, Mrs. Williams, Widow of Capt. Williams 40th Foot, Mr. G. Bird Merchant, Lieut. W. E. Rawlinson, B. E. Regt. and one servant.

SHIPS LOADING.

For London.—Lady Raffles, Palmira, Triumph, and Majestic.
Do. Cape of Good Hope.—Barque Soobrow.
Do. Mocha.—Discovery and Futtay Rahimon.
Do. Juddah.—Mecca.
Do. Penang.—Gopall Crustna.
Do. Malay Coast.—Hamoody.

VESSELS IN THE HARBOUR.

H. M. Ship.—Melville, 74, and Rose 18 Guns.
H. Co's. Receiving and Guard Vessel.—Hastings.
Do. Do. Floating Chapel.—(Aurora.)
Do. Do. Sloop of War.—Coote and Ternate.
FREE TRADERS.—Lady Raffles, Lady Gordon, Triumph, John Marsh, Palmira, and Otterspool.
COUNTRY SHIPS.—Mecca, Discovery, Futtay Rahimon, Charlotte, Charles Forbes, Gopall Cristna, Hamoody, Futtay Salam, Sophia, Lord Castlereagh, Hind, Helen, Cornwallis, Nassery, Grab Petamber Savoy, Soobrow, Shaw Byramgore, Schooner Hamed, and Brig Runsord Pursaud.
American.—Lady Sarah.
Portuguese.—St. Anna.
Brazalian.—Amizade.
Arab.—H. H. the Imaum of Muscat's Ship, Futtay Kurrim, and Attite Rahimon.

EXCHANGE.

	BUY.		SELL
Six per cent Remittable Loan.....	130½		130½
First 5 percent Loan. No. 320, *a* 1st class,	108½		108
Do. No. 321, *a* 1040. 2nd class....	108		107½
Do. 1041, *a* 1040, 3rd class,.....			
Second five per cent Loan.....	110½	*at*	101
Third five per cent Loan.....	110½		110
Bills on Calcutta 30 days.....	108		107½
Bills on Madras 30 days,.....	101½		101
Canton Bills,.....	210½		210
Spanish dollars per 100, ...	221½		221
Sovereign each,.....	11		10¾

HIGH WATER TABLE.

Jany. 1835.	A. M.	P. M.
" 28th Wednesday.....	10 41	11 5
" 29th Thursday.....	11 29	11 51
" 30th Friday.....	11 8	0 30

To Correspondents.

"*Gunfire*" & "*Factotum*" have been received, and will with the communications noticed in our last, find insertion on Saturday.

THE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, 28TH JANUARY, 1835.

H. M's. Sloop *Rose*, W. Barrow Esq. Commander, arrived on Monday Evening from Spithead the 17th August, Madeira, the 29th do., the Cape the 3rd November, and Goa, the 21st January. This vessel will form a part of the new Squadron under Sir B. Capel. She spoke the *Africanus* from Mauritius to Bombay, all well.

The *Rose* it is also rumoured has brought out instructions to Sir John Gore to dispatch her immediately to the Persian Gulph, whither she will proceed tomorrow. The object of her visit to that quarter is, as yet a profound secret, but it is imagined to be for the purpose of making such private observations as will enable the Lords of Admiralty to enter into some arrangement with the Court of Directors, respecting the sum to be paid by the latter to the Crown in the event of the duties now performed by the Indian Navy being undertaken by His Majesty's Vessels. The abolition of the Indian Navy was resolved upon, but impediments had been thrown in the way of a final settlement of the question, by the Admiralty having asked a greater sum than the Court are disposed to give for the protection of the pirate coast on the Western side of India.

The length at which we have to-day given the proceedings of the late meeting at the Town Hall of Calcutta, prevents us from presenting our usual variety of extracts or any quantity of Editorial matter The interesting nature of the subject will, we trust be our best apology to our readers, to whom we thought it would be more agreeable to have the whole before them at once, than in detached and broken portions, the last of which might not be seen while the public attention and curiosity were yet awake. The purpose of the meeting seems to have been two-fold, to petition for the repeal of the Press Regulations, and to address Parliament upon the imperfections of the late charter.

These are so clearly pointed out in the speeches of Messrs. Turton and Dickens, that we refer our readers to them, as well as to the speech of Mr. Gordon, as an evidence of the feeling which animated the meeting—a feeling which we trust will have due weight in the proper quarter, and show that the persons then assembled, if rejected now, will not be backward in seeking some other mode of representing the grievances of which they complain. The speech of Mr. Gordon in particular, is eminently instructive, and points out in a clear manner the distinctive duties of a Civil servant in his separate capacities of a servant of Government and a Citizen. There are many who may profit by the sentiments which it embodies, to whom we recommend its attentive perusal.

Since the publication of our last we have received intelligence of the arrival at Madras of the Ship *Mary Ann*, Hornblow, from the Isle of Wight the 18th Sept. and the *Larkins*, Ingram, from England the 14th of the same month, bringing London Papers up to the 13th Sept. These are, as might be expected, during the prorogation of Parliament, by no means of much interest, the principal matters of domestic information which they convey, being accounts of a sort of triumphal progress which several members of the administration were making through the country, in which as usual Lord Brougham was figuring in every possible manner. The Burgessess of Inverness had presented him with the freedom of their town, which elicited from his Lordship a speech that has called forth all the ridicule of every portion of the London press. Sir John Hobhouse was also in Scotland and met everywhere, more particularly at Glasgow, with a most cordial reception. Earl Grey has also shared in the honors paid to his late colleagues—a public meeting was held at Newcastle upon Tyne, at which no fewer than four addresses from different bodies were presented to him, expressing their high opinion of his public and private virtues. A public dinner was to be given to him at Edinburgh, at which, as it was expected that Lord Brougham and several of the ministry are to be present, about 2000 persons had applied for tickets of admission. Reports were prevalent in the city, about the 2nd of September of the likelihood of a war, between Turkey and Egypt, the former being disposed to recover Syria from Mehemet Ali. Russia is supposed to have some hand in the direction of this movement, and opinions were entertained, that a rupture might soon take peace between her, and England and France, concerning the affairs of Spain. Every thing in that country itself is represented as tolerably quiet, excepting some slight skirmishes on the frontiers between the Queen's Troops and the Carlists.

The news from Portugal do not say any thing concerning the serious illness and reported death of Don Pedro. It has been decided that the young Queen is to be married to a foreign Prince, who, it is supposed will be her Step-mother's Brother, the Duke of Leuchtenberg.

IN addition to the report that Lord Munster will succeed Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General, which the English papers state, as having lately gained much credit, it is mentioned that Sir Manners Sutton the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Charles Grant, and Lord Palmerston are among the candidates for this high office. The Bengal Hurkaru is of opinion that Sir Frederick Adam, will be Lord William's successor, but assigns no reasons for this conclusion. It is more than probable however, that, at the departure of the present Governor-General, which it is now expected will take place, earlier than was calculated upon, Sir Charles Metcalfe will fill the office temporarily, nothing being as yet certainly known in London, concerning his successor.

WE give insertion, in this day's paper, to a letter from a Correspondent who signs himself "Perseus" relative to the intended removal of the Fire wood from the Juron or Chinch Bunders to the Mazagon Waree Bunder, and beg to draw the notice of the public authorities to it. Without affecting any more knowledge on the subject than the representations made to us from time to time, by those who are the sufferers by the new Regulation have put us in possession of, we must certainly confess that the measure appears to us to have been adopted in absence of any thing like proper information on the matter. But who is to blame? The native population were warned of the impending evil,—the course they ought to pursue was pointed out to them;—the consequence of the measure they might well anticipate, and yet, with their usual apathy, they allowed the measure to be passed without ever once raising the voice of remonstrance against it. What can a Government do in such a case? It is impossible for them, from their own knowledge, to know how a measure may affect the various classes coming within its operation. They depend on the representations of those who from their station, are supposed to be, and who in fact ought to be, fully acquainted with the subject, and are justified in acting on their suggestions. We will, of course, be understood to allude to the native justices as having made those suggestions,—at least we have been informed they have all the merit of the matter. And while touching on that point, we think it may not be out of our way to say a word or two to those gentlemen by way of introducing ourselves more particularly to their notice. We have been given to understand that, our last article on the subject of the Fire wood excited no small portion of their bile, as the terms in which they are there alluded to are not, in their opinion, the most courtly. But they err egregiously, if they think we were, in publishing that article, actuated by any feeling, other than a sincere wish for the public good, and they still further err if they think we will shew them any mercy where we may find them guilty of a dereliction of duty. This being our intention, we hope those gentlemen will take this intimation as a warning. But let them take it in good part. Our sole object is to rouse them to a sense of the important duties with which they are entrusted, and, in the execution of their duties to shew that they have the interests of their fellow countrymen and the public at large, at heart.

THE *Madras Male Asylum Herald*, of the 17th, has the following paragraph.

"We have heard from pretty good authority that the Earl of MUNSTER is not at all likely to come out as Governor General of India. Having quarrelled with the King and the Ministers, the golden prospect has been shut from him. Lord MULGRAVE is spoken of but Mr. CHARLES GRANT will probably succeed."

It has been stated to us by a friend upon what he considers very good authority, that in consequence of representations made in certain quarters, particularly by Lord Combermere that the Indian Army was inefficient. Ministers intend to alter the constitution of that body very materially. It is a part of their plan to appoint a Lieut. Colonel of H. M's. service to each Regiment; three Captains to be added to each corps, and promotion to go on by purchase in an open direct manner, precisely as it is done in the Royal Army. The army itself it is stated will be made over to the Crown. Two questions naturally arise here, are Cadetships to be purchased, if so, what becomes of the patronage of the Directors, unless they are allowed to pocket what old Trapbois would call the *consideration*. How will the Officers of the Indian Army be disposed to look upon the proposal of placing King's Lieut. Colonels over them? In our opinion it will be an act of grossly unjust supercession unless some method be devised of sparing Officers of that rank from this indignity and injury.

A gang of Thieves who were sent from Poona to Tannah, halted on their way thither, on Wednesday last, under the charge of an escort of Sepoys, at a Temple on the margin of the large Tank at Panwell—While the Sepoys were cooking their victuals, four of the prisoners broke loose, seized two musquets and knocked down several of the Guard—Finding that the Sepoys were disposed to show fight, the rogues thinking that, discretion was the better part of valour, took to their heels, and although closely pursued and fired at, two of them escaped, leaving two behind, killed. The blood of the slain was visible, as we learn from a person who visited the place, near the Tank last Saturday.

"IN THE MIDST OF LIFE WE ARE IN DEATH."

Died at Shelapoor, Robert Cotton Money Esquire, of the Bombay Ceivil Service.

Mr. Money was well known to most persons under this Presidency, as Secretary at one time to the Native Education Society and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—In him has perished all that was mortal of the Scholar, the Gentleman and the Christian. To classical attainments of an highly respectable order, he added a modesty, so free from pedantry as to lead all but those who knew him well to underrate his qualifications. His manners were affable, his intercourse with equals or inferiors alike distinguished by courtesy and kindness, while his native independence of mind at all times prevented him from truckling to the pride and contumely of those in authority. As a Christian, his benevolent aid of all literary and religious institutions as far as was in his power, will long be remembered, and if any thing can add to the grief which now affects his friends, at the simple fact of his being dead, it will be that, he has been cut off in the prime of life, when the honors of the service to which he belonged, might have been expected to open a wider career of use ulness to himself and the pubic.

"*No farther seek his merits to disclose*
Nor draw his frailties from their dread abode
There, they alike in trembling hope repose
The bosom of his Father and his God."

CALCUTTA.

TOWN HALL MEETING.—JANUARY 5. 1835.

The proceedings of the day were commenced by the Sheriff's reading the requisition for calling the meeting.

On the motion of Mr. Clarke, the Sheriff was called to the Chair.

Mr. TURTON, in moving the first resolution, addressed the Meeting to the following effect. Gentlemen, I rise with no small degree of pride and exultation to offer to your acceptance a resolution which will, I trust, have the effect of putting an end to the restrictions which have for some years past been imposed upon the Press in this country.—restrictions which are at once unjust in point of law, as they are impolitic in their nature. It will be in the recollection of most of those who now hear me that, in the year 1823, certain regulations were passed against the liberty

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of the Press by Government—that that liberty had never been enjoyed here in its full extent, I am willing to concede; I allow that there had been a previous censorship; that is well known to all, and that that had been repealed by the Marquis of Hastings is equally well known. But Gentlemen, it was during the short period of the power of a temporary Governor General which should have the effect of bribing the tongues, and checking the pens, of all those whose remarks upon the policy and the acts of the Government they found disagreeable. So far what I have stated must be familiar to you, but it may not be equally in the recollection of all who now hear me, that simultaneously with this regulation, which applied to Calcutta, another regulation was passed for the purpose of imposing fetters upon the Press in the interior. Gentlemen, as far as my humble efforts can be of any avail, it is my purpose this day to obtain the repeal of both those regulations. (*Loud cheers.*) When I shall bring to your notice, or recall to your recollection, the terms of those two regulations, I think you will have no great difficulty in seeing what was the real object of those who passed them, and in what an extent they would have carried their restrictions had their power been commensurate to their wishes—they did carry them as far as they were able in Calcutta, but here there was a check upon them, for in order to give validity to their regulation, it was necessary that it should be registered in the Supreme Court. To what an extent they would have proceeded, had it not been for such a check, you may divine from seeing to what an extent they actually did proceed in the interior, where there was no limit to their power. The object of the first regulation was generally, to impose upon all persons being proprietors of periodical publications, the necessity of obtaining a previous licence, which licence might at any time be withdrawn. It is not necessary I should trouble you by reading this Regulation at length, but I will read a kind of comment upon it by the Government itself, the day after it was registered in the Supreme Court, which will assist you in forming a judgment as to the motives of those who were concerned in passing it. On the 7th of April, 1823, the following order was issued in the *Government Gazette*;—

FORT WILLIAM, APRIL 5, 1823.

"The Governor General in Council with reference to the Bye-law passed on the 14th ultimo, and registered in the Supreme Court on the 4th instant, deems it proper to notify to the Proprietors and Editors of Newspapers and other Periodical Works, as specified in the aforesaid Bye-Law, that the publication in any such Paper or Periodical Works of matter coming under any of the following heads, will subject them to be deprived of the Licence under which such paper or other Periodical Work may be conducted.

That Gentleman, is the first paragraph. You know it is customary at the convivial Meetings in this Hall, whether held in the pious reign of George 3d or in that of George 4th, or in the brighter and more liberal reign of William 4th, that the first thing you do after the dinner is over, and grace said, is to drink the health of the king with all the honors; and it seems, that the enactors of this notable Regulation have followed your very excellent example, for when they come to impose restrictions upon the Press, the first bolt they level is aimed at—" defamatory or contumelious against the king or any of the members of the royal family." (*much laughter.*) I am sure I don't know whether any such thing ever was published here, but at all events you see that the first objects of the Indian Government of that day was to preserve intact the reputation of his Majesty and the royal family. (*Laughter.*) Then comes,

"Observations or Statements touching the character, constitution, measures or orders of the Court of Directors, or other public Authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or the character, constitution, measures or orders of the Indian Governments, impugning the motives and designs of such Authorities or in any way tending to bring them into hatred or contempt; to excite resistance to their orders, or to weaken their authority."

Now I will venture to say, that if ever there was a publication in Calcutta calculated to touch the character of the Government authorities, or to bring them into hatred or contempt, or to excite resistance to their orders, or to weaken their authority, it was this comment which they published upon their own odious Regulation. (*Loud cheers.*) But, Gentlemen, is it to be tolerated that we are not to have the liberty of commenting upon the acts, motives and designs, of the Government, under which we live, provided it be done in a fair and honest manner, without exposing the party who makes such comments to the risk of total ruin! Then comes—" observations or statements of the above description relative to allied or friendly native powers, their ministers or representatives." So at this present time, and my friend Mr. Adam hears me, you have not the power of making any comment upon the conduct of the Nizam, of the minister of the king of Oude, or of the Regent of Gwalior, or of the Ambassadors of Runjeet Sing (*Loud laughter.*) Yes Gentlemen, you are at this moment in such a state of thraldom, that any man is liable to have his means of livelihood taken from him, because he has dared to comment upon the behaviour of the Ambassador of Runjeet Sing! Then it goes on—" defamatory or contumelious remarks or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor General, the Governors or Commanders in Chief."—I have heard of offensive insinuations levelled against Commanders in Chief, though not proceeding from that source of all abominations, the Indian Press—" the Members of Council or the Judges of his Majesty's Courts at any of the Presidencies, or the Bishop of Calcutta, (*great laughter*,) and publications of any description tending to expose them to hatred, obliquy or contempt; also libelious or abusive reflections and insinuations against the public officers of Government." Now I will venture to say, there are many officers of Government who never know that this shield was held to protect them from public obliquy, and who would utterly repudiate any such kind of protection. (*Loud cheers.*) The Judges of His Majesty's Courts and the Bishop of Calcutta must also feel complimented in such an implied tribute to their merits. Then we have

"Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances, and irritating and insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects."

Gentleman, did you ever hear the equal of this! first you are told you must not comment upon the constitution of the Court of Directors—Why since this Regulation was passed, the constitution of the East India Company has been entirely altered; next you are told you must not discuss any question regarding the peculiar usages and modes of thing on religious subjects, prevalent among the natives—why since that regulation was published, a regulation has been pased to put an end to one of the native rites, considered by one large party among them, to be closely connected with their religious principles? That is the situation in which you are placed, and is it one to be tamely endured! Next comes a rather sweeping clause—" The republication from English or other papers of passages coming under the foregoing heads." So you must not hear any thing that has been published in any of the English papers which might by possibility expose to contempt any of the constituted authorities Sir Richard Birnie for example (loud laughter)—I remember George 4th, when he was Prince Regent, was called by Leigh Hunt a corpulent gentleman of fifty.—why, if this were to be transplanted into the columns of the *English man*, Mr. Stocqueler would stand a good chance of being deprived of his licence (load laughter.) Then comes." Defamatory publications, tending to disturb the peace, harmony and good order of society." Anonymous appeals to the public, relative to grievance of a professional or official nature, alleged to have been sustained by public officers in the service of his Majesty or the Honorable Company." So if any man thinks he suffers under a grievance, he is not to be allowed to have recourse to that which is very frequently the only medium through which he can obtain redress—at many up-country stations, to debar a man from making public his grievances, is often tantamount to denying him all redress whatever. I think, gentleman, you will consider what you have already heard to be tolerably startling—but now comes what crowns the whole—here is the deliberate opinion of the Government of that day, as to what is the defects of these rules, an opinion gravely published by them in an official document—"The foregoing rules impose no irksome restraints on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest." (*Roars of Laughter.*) Really, gentlemen, I do not wonder at your mirth, for it is utterly impossible to preserve ones gravity in reading this. Impose no irksome restraints on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest, the publication and discussion of which is not prohibited! No irksome restraint to the community, what could they mean? If they meant that the rules imposed no irksome restraints on the Government, it is all clear enough! And now let us see what was the practical result of this—this which was said to impose no irksome restraint on the discussion of any matter of public interest. Mr Buckingham was the first to suffer. He carried on at this time a journal in this city. No I am not in error. It was Mr. Buckingham's case which gave rise to the enactment—and what was this offence! He published a little satirical poem in which some allusion was made to the letters VICE, the initials of the United East India Company marked on certain penknives, ink, pounce and paper—for this he was pounced upon, and was actually deported for publishing a frivolous and to say the truth, not an over and a good *jue d' esprit* upon the Secretary to the Stationary Committee. What has been the result of that? Why, ten years afterwards the East India Company are compelled by the British Parliament, at length aroused to a sense of justice, to make remuneration for the wrong they have inflicted. I believe the bill has not actually passed, but there is the report of a committee, and that a Bill will follow, there can be no doubt in a latter stage of these proceedings, I shall have occasion to point out to you, in observing upon the Act of Parliament, which is entitled an Act for the better government of India, that it is not from the East India Company that this remuneration must come, but from the pockets of the inhabitants of India. So much for the justice and policy of that proceeding. Now let us come to the next case—it was that of Mr. Arnott. He was sent home—I really am unable to explain to you, why, altho' I was concerned in that transaction as his Counsel, but I think you will easily conceive, that a public journalist, under the restrictions of such rules as I have read, could hardly avoid giving an advantage to those who wished to send him home. Well, he was ruined and he afterwards received remuneration: such was the effect of that proceeding. Mr. Fair's case I take to be tantamount to these; for although the Court at Bombay refused to sanction a regulation, similar to that which the Judges of this Court allowed to be registered here, on the ground that it was contrary to the laws of England, yet they applied to the case of Mr. Fair, a clause in the Act of the 53d. George 3d, which allows of deportation and they actually ruined him, by making use of another instrument, which though different in form, was if possible, still more tyrannical and unjust. I see near me two gentlemen who have also suffered in the cause. Will you believe that the Government could make it a condition with the proprietor of a public newspaper, for their continuing his licence, that a certain individual should not be employed as Editor—that they should have a veto, as it were, upon the Editorship. And yet with the proprietors of the *Bengal Chronical*, the Government made a bargain that a particular gentleman should not remain the editor! There is another gentleman near me, to whose labors an entire stop was also put for the time, and upon whom the heaviest injury was inflicted. I believe, the two gentlemen to whom I have alluded, will not object to my mentioning their names. I mean Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Adam. Thus then I bring down the acts of the Government from 1823 to 1828, when the last exercise of this power was had recourse to, at the close of the Deputy Governorship of that day, Lord Combermere being the Vice President. Can it then be said that this law is so obsolete, so unlikely ever to be exercised again, that it does not matter whether it be repealed or not? Does it not rather behove us, while we have a Governor General, under whom we have enjoyed every practical liberty of the Press, (loud cheers) to solicit him, now he is on the eve of leaving us, that the last act of blessing he will confer upon this country, shall be the repeal of a law, which may be a fearful engine of oppression in the hands of those who have less consideration for liberty than himself? (Loud cheering.) This is the object of the resolution I am about to propose.

Something, gentleman, has been lately published with regard to a distinction between the English and the Native Press. It is the latter which the other regulation I have mentioned, tends more particularly to control. Of that regulation I will read you the preamble alone, for it is unnecessary to read more, in order to show the object of the Government of that day. It is regulation 3 of 1823, passed by the Governor-General in Council, on the 5th of April, one day after the regulation for Calcutta was registered in the Supreme Court.

A regulation *for preventing the establishment of Printing Presses without License, and for restraining, under certain circumstances, the circulation of printed Books and Papers: Passed by the Governor General in Council on the 5th April* 1823, *corresponding with the 24th Chyte* 1229, *Bengal era; the 10th Chyte* 1230, *Fussly; the 25th Chyte* 1830, *Willaity; the 9th Chyte* 1380, *Sumbut; and the 22d Rujub* 1238, *Higera.*

"*Preamble*—Whereas it is deemed expedient to prohibit within the territories immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, the future establishment of printing presses, and the use of any such presses or of types, or other materials for printing, except with the previous sanction and licence of Government, and under suitable provisions, to guard against abuse; and whereas it may be judged proper, to prohibit the circulation, within the Territories aforesaid, of particular newspapers, printed books, or papers of any description, whether the same may be printed in the town of Calcutta or elsewhere;—the following rules have been enacted, to be in force from the date of their promulgation within the territories immediately subordinate to the presidency of Fort William."

This is a regulation, gentlemen, for restraining not merely the *printing* but the *circulation* of *any* books or papers whatever, in *any* language whatever! not merely in the vernacular of the country, but all printed books and papers in every language, wheresoever printed and published! There is gentlemen, at this moment, an absolute power in the Government, to put its *veto* upon the circulation of any book, upon any one subject whatever, whether it contain offensive passages or not, and this without any responsibility whatever! I am sure that whatever difference of opinion there may be in the minds of different individuals, as to the propriety of any restrictions on the Native Press, there will, and can be no difference of opinion; that a regulation so offensive to all the principles of freedom and Government, ought not any longer to disgrace the Indian statute book. Have *we* the power of fettering Government as to any regulations they may choose to pass, of the purpose of knowing who are the parties responsible for any publication that may issue from the Press? That must be left in the hands of the Government; but I do ask that if there shall be any desire to pass any regulation, imposing further restrictions than those which are imposed by the common law and by common sense and by common justice, that, at all events, that law may not be carried to the extent either of a previous censorship or a licensing system. I do ask that, and I say, that is the least we can ask from any Government that makes the slightest pretension to enlightened principles. (loud cheers.) But lest I may be mistaken here or elsewhere, I say distinctly, that I make common cause with the Native Press (Loud cheers). I know of nothing that should prevent me. I know nothing of any superior firmness and courage in the native character, which should make them dangerous, in circumstances in which Englishmen are not dangerous. I know of no principle for the Government of this country, except that which extends to all, equal blessings. (Loud cheers.) I am satisfied that, if we give to this country an enlightened and a liberal Government, if we afford its inhabitants opportunities of knowing the laws which may be passed for their direction, and opportunities of representing their grievances, and of being heard fairly and honestly, we shall find none but loyal subjects; and I believe it will be found by natives as well as by Europeans, the common interest of all, to support the British supremacy. On this ground, I make common cause with the Natives to-day (loud cheering) Gentleman, what has been of the result of the liberty which the Native Press has lately practically enjoyed? Has anything appeared in the Native papers likely to bring the Government into hatred or contempt? I declare, as I have already said, I know of nothing ever printed or published by any press, so calculated to bring the Government into hatred and contempt as this most odious regulation. Gentlemen, when I rose, I did not intend to detain you at the length I have done. I have no intention of going into any general discussion on the advantage of a free Press. The subject has been before you for the last twelve years, in two different characters, the character of restriction, and the character of enjoyment of liberty. When it was restricted, was there any one who did not feel the effects of that restriction? Since it has been practically free have those who governed the country sustained any injury from it? I ask if the government is not now more honored—if its laws are not more observed, and if it does not live more in the hearts of the natives, than when Mr. Adam passed that regulation? I think gentlemen, I shall have your unanimous concurrence in the resolution I am about to sumbit to you which is.—

"That whilst this meeting acknowledges with gratitude, the practical liberty which the press of Calcutta has enjoyed under the administration of the present Governor General, yet it is highly expedient that laws so repugnant to those of England as the Regulations passed against the press by the Bengal Government in the year 1823, which may be so readily applied to evil purposes in the hands of an Arbitrary Governor-General, and under which so many individuals have already suffered, should be repealed.

(Mr. Turton sat down amidst loud cheering.)

The Resolution was seconded by Mr. E. M Gordon of the Civil Service, in the following address:—

Mr. Chairman,—I rise with unspeakable satisfaction to second the resolution moved by Mr. Turton. All my life long I have been a firm, an unalterable friend to the most perfect freedom of discussion; and I am proud of the opportunity now offered, of making this avowal within the hearing of the government—in the presence of this meeting—in the face of all the world. There are no conceivable circumstances, under which I should consider it to be my duty to conceal the fact, that I am the uncompromising advocate of a free press.

Could I at any time be brought to suppress the public acknowledgement of my opinion on this subject: could I be tempted to evade, or back out of the open confession of this my political faith, I should look upon myself as the most contemtible of hypocrites, and deserving of the scorn of all honest men. The resolution has been so ably supported by my learned friend, (if he will permit me so to call him:) the folly of the existing Press Laws has been so powerfully assailed by his ridicule, that little is left for me to say in seconding that resolution. There are, however, some observations of a general nature, connected with the encouragement that ought to be given to the diffusion of knowlege, which, though they seem to be somewhat underrated by the mover, appear to me important, and to which, accordingly, I would call the special attention of all whom I have the honor to address. But before I do so, I beg to offer one or two remarks, touching the position I now personally occupy. I have the honour to be a member of the civil service, and it is precisely because I do belong to that body and not from a foolish desire of display, that I am anxious upon this occasion, to claim for myself, and those of my brethren who agree with me, an unrestricted right to liberty of thought and speech. I am desirous of asserting boldly, and fearlessly, but with perfect respect, and I trust without the risk of contradiction, that men ought not as servants to forfeit their claims to the just confidence of the government because they take a part in the proceedings of this day. A short time ago, and within these walls there was an expression used by a gentleman high in office, that it is the duty of servants to be humble. It is very far from my wish to misrepresent the civilian in question, and I do not suppose, that in employing the phrase referred to, he intended to preach up the duty of servility. But to prevent misconception, it may not be amiss, if I endeavour very shortly to state, how far the government may reasonably require obedience from it servants, and where the duty of obedience on the part of servants may be fairly considered to stop. It will readily be allowed, that, in every country, some system of subordination, some scheme of discipline, must be kept up amongst the functionaries of the government. All cannot be masters,—each cannot be a law unto himself. An attempt to govern upon such a principle, would lead to inevitable anarchy. What then may be regarded as a just practical rule, to be followed by servants towards the government they serve? It seems to me to be this. When the government, on any occasion, has *finally* resolved to carry any plan or law into execution, it is the duty of the servant, to whom such an order may be communicated to obey or to resign his post. I speak not of extreme cases. It is impossible, that the Indian government, whose members are Englishmen of the 19th century could promulgate any orders of a notoriously violent and sanguinary character. This is so exceedingly improbable, that I do not take it into account at all. What I alluded to, is the *final* judgment come to, in matters about which there might be a reasonable difference of opinion amongst men; and I have no hesitation in saying, that in such cases, when the decree of the government after mature deliberation, has once gone forth, the only alternative left for the servant to obedience, is resignation. But before the time of this *ultimate* alternative arrives, there is an intermediate interval, during which it appears to be the bounden duty of the servants of government, to bring before its notice, openly, and fairly and without reserve, all those facts and reasons which in their judgement show the folly, or the injustice, or the inefficacy of any proposed plan or law. In making such a representation, far be it from me to say, that the servants of government are not to use the language of respect, the style of conciliation, the modest and unassuming manner of subordinates when addressing the constituted authorities of the land. To pursue any other course, would imply, not only a want of wisdom, but apparently, an indifference about the success of the cause they advocated. If it is true, in the language of scripture that "a soft answer turneth away wrath," it is equally indisputable that an insolent overbearing, or forward mode of addressing those whom we would bring over to our own way of thinking, so far from conciliating has the tendency still farther to estrange them from our opinions. This is so obvious, that that man's sincerity might plausibly be doubted, who, when professing to make converts on any subjects, detested the end he had in view, by his offensive mode of expressing himself. If then by humility is the duty of servants, it is simply meant that they should observe a respectful, conciliatory, and modest demeanour when making representations to the government. I subscribe with all my heart, to the justness of the doctrine. But if it be assumed in any quarter however high that subordinates are necessarily incapable of giving wholesome advice to their rulers: if it be held, that the only province of servants is to yield an unquestioning, an unhesitating, an unconditional, and an instantaneous obedience to those placed in authority over them: if this is what is to be regarded as proper humility, then I beg to protest against such humility, and to declare before God and men, that those who so act, are in my opinion, not only not doing their duty, but are guilty of the greatest of crimes. Nay, I will go farther, and assert, without the fear of contradiction, that if at any time the government of this country, has been betrayed into acts of questionable wisdom, or doubtful justice, it has been owing in a great degree, to this mistaken, ignorant, and unprincipled subserviency on the part of its own functionaries. The principles I have been laying down, as to the extent and the limits of a public functionary's obedience in official life, are of easy application, as regards the course he may pursue, at a meeting such as is the present. If in his direct intercourse with Government, a fair and liberal latitude of opinion is conceded to a

public servant, in all questions of proposed legislation; surely it cannot be contended, that we ought to be debarred from the previlege of uniting with his countrymen, and native fellow subjects, in respectfully soliciting the attention of the Government, to what he conscientiously believes, to be the injurious tendency of any existing laws. That the government does not desire to deprive its servants of such a privilege, is obvious from the fact, that several members of the service, put their names to the requisition for leave to hold this meeting, and yet no intimation has been made to those who did so, that the Government considered them to be transgressing the legitimate bounds of a servant's obedience to the State. I have thought it proper to make these preliminary observations, that I may myself be right with Government, and that my motives in taking the part I now take, may not be misinterpreted nor misunderstood. I now proceed to the business of the day.

In supporting a resolution like that which, it has fallen to my lot to second, my great difficulty lies, in attempting to divine, what objections can be urged against it. The propriety of encouraging the growth of knowledge, ranks in my mind amongst self evident truths. To tell a friend that temperance contributes to good health, or that a life of honesty will gain respect, appears not to be a more superfluous task, than this seems to be who has to enforce the proposition, that it is beneficial to man, to increase the sum, and to extend the diffusion of knowledge. Unfortunately, all men have not always been of this opinion, else it would not have been necessary for us to assemble here to-day, but I cannot help thinking, that the existing Government will agree with the inhabitants, and will by its acts, far more effectually second the resolution moved by my learned friend, than I can, by any speech of mine. Those who are unfriendly to an increase either in the amount, or the diffusion of knowledge, may be ranged under two classes. The first are they who extend this unfriendliness to all countries; the second are they, who professing to be the friends of a progression of knowledge every where else, would yet have it to stand still here. Of the first, there is, I grieve to say, a very numerous body, who, from their own entire ignorance, are not very capable of discoursing on the effects of knowledge. Walter Scott tells us, that "Sir Everard Waverley had never been himself a student, and like his sister Miss Rachel, held the doctrine, that idleness is incompatible with reading of any kind, and that the mere tracing of the alphabetical characters with the eye, is in itself a useful and meritorious task, without scrupulously considering what ideas or doctrines they may happen to convey." The worthy Baronet and his maiden sister, take the precedence of the order of persons I allude to, for these do not even reach the dignity of "tracing the alphabetical characters with the eye." Steeped in profound ignorance, happy in slothful listlessness, they seem to live upon the line.

"Where ignorance is bliss 't were folly to be wise,"

To such people, if they could but hit upon it, and carry it in their hands, this verse would be what ale was to the Scotch lawyer's Clerk in the novel.—"it would be meat, drink and sleep, bed, board and washing" to them. Leaving these worthies to sleep and fatten upon the ale of ignorance. I would speak of those, who not themselves absolutely destitute of knowledge, would yet very sparingly communicate this gift to others. How to describe such men is no easy matter; what to them, is more difficult still. Wise men I cannot call them: men possessed of

"——a power of mind
Foreseeing and presaging, from the depth
Of knowledge past or present,"

it is impossible to allow them to be, men animated by a strong over stirring, and enlightened spirit of benevolence, they certainly are not: yet I am loath to think that they are actuated by pure selfishness. I would rather infer, that their minds weak by nature, are filled with dark and vague apprehensions, respecting the effects of knowledge universally diffused: that they are encircled by a dim foreboding which makes them tremble: that having nothing of the bold, nothing of the joyous temperament about them, every vision before them, and around them, is a

"——dreary plain; forlorn and wild,
The seat of desolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of the livid flames,
Casts pale and dreadful." ——

It would be vain to attempt to prove to such men the groundlessness of their fears; it would be useless to tell them, that the real danger, lies, in the existence of little knowledge, or no knowledge: but if any thing can make an impression on them it must be the truth (which has often been declared, and which cannot too often be declared) that do what we will, we cannot possibly stop the progress of knowledge. In some of the more enlightened countries in the world, in England in particular, the cause of knowledge has advanced so far, has become so strong, that it may fairly bid defiance to its enemies. It is like the house built upon a rock. The rain may descend, the floods may come, the winds may blow, and beat upon this house; and it shall fall not—it is built upon a rock.

It is needless to inquire particularly, to what causes it has been owing that knowledge has thus been advanced and diffused? Some have favored it from considerations of a religious nature; some perhaps from political party spirit; some from vanity and fashion; and many, I trust, from a pure desire to spread as far as possible that pleasure, which themselves feel from a gratification of the love of knowledge, and from a wish to raise their fellow creatures as high as possible in the scale of being. But from whatever cause or combination of causes proceeding, as "on a rock transfixed," shall stand secure, unless some moral apoplexy, shall strike, to the dust, at one fell blow, the whole great mind of civilized man. Nothing short of such a moral miracle can injure knowledge: no human effort can move her from her position: as well might the men of science with all their instruments and a place whereon to put them, attempt to move the globe from its orbit: as well might the royal hand be uplifted to stay the waves of the coming tide.

The other class of men whom I have alluded to and to whom I beg to direct the attention of this meeting, consists of those who are opposed to the diffusion of knowledge in this country. As respects other lands, these persons are ready to admit the all powerful effects of knowledge. If asked, why they feel a just pride in human capabilities? They point to the countless manifestations of human genius,—to the innumerable proofs, the mind of man has given, of its power to add to the sum of our physical and intellectual enjoyments, and to raise us in the scale of moral being. They own too that this striking superiority of civilized over savage man is owing to increased knowledge and to increased knowledge alone. Following up this system of interrogation were we to inquire of the persons I am speaking of what cause more than any other has made man in modern times, an object of wonder? They would answer the invention of printing? And why? Because by increasing prodigiously, the facility of diffusing knowledge it has indirectly but beyond calculation in amount, contributed to all subsequent discoveries. And why does the facility of diffusing knowledge lead to useful discoveries in physical and moral science?

For two plain reasons:—1st. By extending the field of mental exertion it brings a greater force, a larger amount of mind, to bear upon knowledge: and 2dly, this exertion most powerfully stimulates the labours of all and especially of those, whose desires and whose talents, qualify them to extend the bounds of useful knowledge.

Surely no one can doubt the truth of these principles. The intellectual achievements of one individual mind, unaided by past and contemporary light, would be as poor and miserable, when compared with the prodigious effects that have been produced by universal combination, as would be the physical condition of the inhabitants of a barren and isolated soil, when contrasted with that of a rich country, to the comfort of whose people, every region of the earth furnished its quota of supplies! Equally unquestionable is it, that a large field of exertion, acts as a mighty stimulus to all, not to relax in useful labor. Does it not lead and strengthen that most powerful of all passions the desire of fame? It is in vain to declaim against this passion; it is a part of the nature of man, which we could not eradicate if we would, and which we ought not to attempt to eradicate, even if we could. By this passion, even the most moderately gifted, are constrained to bring their share of useful knowledge to the general stock: and by this passion, the lights of the world, are supported under all privations, and the countless ills of life, and prevailed on to continue that unremitted toil, which is to delight, and to instruct, and to elevate their fellow men, to the end of time. In the language of Milton.

"Fame is the spur which the clean spirits doth raise,
To scorn delights, and live laborious days."

Akin to the love of fame, and mixed up with it, but still separate from it, is the passion so constantly found in energetic minds, namely, that of desiring that their own opinions and emotions, should be strongly felt by others: in the language of Byron. "To make their own, the minds of others." It is this passion, as Southey justly observes, in his life of Wesley, that is at the bottom of all the religious reforms, that from time to time take place in the world. This passion must deeply animate the minds of philosophers, moralists, and theologians, if they would rouse their fellow creatures from that apathy, into which most men are apt to fall. That this passion has been beneficial to man, no one I think, can for a moment doubt. It has in fact, at different times, kept the human race from relapsing into total darkness. The misfortune is, that this passion is always accompanied by great reasoning powers, and in ages of ignorance, it propagates error along with truth. Unaided by the controuling influence of an unerring judgment, it communicates together with the good, some of the worst passions of our nature—an impatient intolerance of difference of opinion,—a fierce, angry, and fiery zeal. Now by increasing the facility of the diffusion of knowledge, and consequently by increased knowledge, the zealous, but weak propagandists (to use a word of Southey's) are disarmed of their sting because their hearers and readers, are better enabled to separate truth from error; and because the ascendancy over the general mass, is more likely to be withdrawn from the feeble, and lodged with the powerful minded in the community.

In all respects, then the diffusion of knowledge, as regards other countries, is allowed to be useful, and those who are opposed to such a diffusion here, protest a willingness to stretch forth, and open the hand of encouragement, to every institution and to every instrument, that shall widen the bounds of knowledge in other lands. And why is this benevolent profession not extended to India? I know not; I am left to conjecture alone. Is it asserted that the natives of India are incapable of receiving knowledge? That they consist of one large mass of leaden dullness, through which the light cannot penetrate? Were we absolutely without experience on this subject, the assertion would still be altogether an unwarrantable one; it would be coming to a conclusion without inquiring into facts; it would be giving a verdict first, and then examining evidence. But it so happens, that the assertion is contradicted by experience. So far as education has been scantily meted out to them, the native youth of India, have shewn an aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge, and a love of it, that fairly entitle them to compete with an equal number of the youth of any other country in the world. And if this is so, it surely cannot be denied that the perfect freedom of the press most powerfully contributes to the extension of knowledge amongst the natives of India. I am far from saying, that this press ought to be a substitute for a widely diffused, and well organised system of education, but would it not prove a powerful auxiliary to such a system? Is it not by means of the periodical, and daily press, that men can extend their views beyond the walls of their own house, or the small bounds of the parish in which they live, and know what is going on in other parts of the same country, and throughout the world? Is not the periodical press the great engine of literature in modern times? above all, is not a free press a powerfull support of a system of good Government? This point was well urged by Mr. Turton in his opening speech. A spirit of free discussion, through the press is favorable to good Government, 1st, because by just praise, it stimulates the rulers and their executive officers, to give an earnest attention to the interests of the community; 2dly, censuring foolish and unjust legislation in the governing body, and carelessness, abuses of power, or incapacity in the servants of Government, it operates as a salutary warning to all that are invested with authority. This leads me to notice an objection, which I am ashamed to say, I have sometimes heard made to a free press. It is said India is not a free country, but a despotism, and the principles that may be applicable elsewhere, are not so here. To this, I would reply, that there are two senses in which—the word despotism may be used. One is, when we speak of a Government, in the composition of which popular elements are excluded. In this sense, the Government of India is certainly a depotism, but this by no means excludes the notion, that the Government may feel the strongest desire to promote the happiness and improvement of its subjects. The second sense is, when we allude to a Government, which is theoretically tyrannical:—which governs for the sole purpose of enriching the few at the expense of the many. If we would uphold a Government of this kind, the sooner we put an end to every species of free discussion the better. But a desire to govern India upon such principles, is disavowed, I am sure, by every Member of the existing Government, it is disavowed by the Court of Directors; and it is disavowed by the British Parliament. It is said there is danger in a free press. I would ask whether we who contend for freedom, desire the absolute licentiousness of the press? Do we say, men may write with impunity, whatever they please? No; what we contend for, is, that men who are charged with having written or printed, that which ought to be punished, shall be tried, *before they are visited with punnishment.* For one sir, cannot allow, that there is the slightest danger to be apprehended to British Supremacy, from granting a perfect freedom to the Native press. I am satisfied, the Natives of India generally, prefer our rule with all its faults, to that of any Asiatic sovereignty that proceeded it. If we look to the history of India, as far as authentic records reach, we shall find the property of subjects to have been absolutely insecure; that men were liable to be plundered continually, others by their own princes, or by foreign invaders; and the best proofof this, is the fact, that in former times the custom universally prevailed, of concealing treasure under ground. So desirous are the natives of Bengal, to uphold British Supremacy, that in the late Pindarry war, it was common, for men in their domestic circles, to offer up prayers for the success of the British arms. This fact is openly stated in the petition, which several respectable natives presented to the Supreme Court, against the press regulations of 1823. It is notorious too, that a considerable portion of the public debt in India, is due to native creditors. But it is said, the press is practically free. This absurd position was so well assailed by my learned friend that it requires no additional attack from me. I admit, the press is now practically free; and I trust it will not be in the power of any future Governor, *permanantly to disturb that freedom.* What then? we ask for more. We say, that so important a right should not be held by sufferance. We say, that a rash-ill tempered, wrong-headed Governor-General, may commit a great deal of *temporary* injury. In the 1st place, by withdrawing a license, *all* the subscribers to a newspaper, are deprived at once, of a source of rational amusement and instruction. This may be a trifling matter to a Governor General, but it is no trifling matter to the subscribers, and I submit, that so much power ought not to be left to the caprice of one man. In the 2d place, by withdrawing a license, a Governor-General deprives editors of their means of livelihood, and proprietory of their property. Did not Messrs. Sutherland and Adam (whom I am proud to call my friends) lose some 10 or 12,000 rupees, as well as a temporary deprivation of livelihood, by the violent act of my Lord Combermere in 1827? To his Lordship. 10,000 rupees might be a small matter, wallowing as he was then, in ill-gotten wealth, by the plunder of Bhurtpore, one of the most disgraceful transactions in the history of India. We went against Bhurtpore in support of the legitimate heir, with whose father we were on terms of the strictest friendship, and to put down an usurper, the brother of the deceased ruler. We took the place, and gave it up to indiscriminate plunder? Lord Combermere, through corrupt influence with his grace of Wellington (for I can ascribe it to no other cause), succeeded in getting an immense amount of private property, made over to the army of which he was Commander-in-chief, and that likewise in opposition to the strongest remonstrance from the political agent, sir Charles Metcalfe, who to his immortal honour protested against our right to touch a single rupee. To Lord Combermere, I say, 10,000 rupees might be insignificant, but to my honest friends, it might make all the difference, between the situation of being able to command the common comforts of life, and that of utter destitution. I sincerely hope the time is not far off, when no man on earth, shall have in his power, to commit an act of such gross and abominable injustice.

I have nothing more to say, but to thank the meeting for the indulgence with which it has listened to me, and to express an earnest wish, that the efforts, the inhabitants are this day making, may not be in vain.

The Resolution proposed by Mr. TURTON having been carried unanimously, Mr. DICKENS addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

Gentlemen, the Resolution just submitted to you, having been unanimously carried, it becomes my duty to propose, for your adoption, a petition framed in conformity with the sentiments expressed in that resolution. Before however I proceed to do so, and to explain to you what that petition is, I may take advantage of the speech you have just heard from Mr. Gordon,—a speech abounding in just sentiments and sound reasons well delivered, clothed in most eloquent language—to say that I am here in the performance of a duty, which I would most willingly have seen in the hands of some one better able to discharge it than myself. I disclaim for the class to which I belong, and to which it is my pride to belong, any desire to thrust themselves forward upon public notice. I claim for them your belief, that they would willingly cede the performance of these duties to others. I claim for them this construction of their conduct, and I claim it fearlessly, because no purpose of narrow or selfish ambition can be answered by their coming forward in this manner in this community, for in this country the performance of public duties, such as these, leads to nothing. A man can gain for himself no advantage by discharging them. He may injure, may destroy, private and selfish interests—he may have, and assuredly he will have, the approbation of his own conscience—but no other reward can he have, except indeed that, to which he has a clear right, the reward of public applause. This I think it right to say in consequence of what has been stated elsewhere as to the motives of those who have called this meeting. (*Loud cheers.*) It has been said that the time is ill chosen—I say that the time has been well chosen—there has been no other time, within the period of my own residence here, that could have been so well chosen. For some time past we have had rumours of great changes, and we have had reason to suppose that the whole power in this country would be entrusted, with little controul, to the hands of the local Government. This has at length been done. We have under this Governor-General in Council enjoyed a most liberal consideration for public rights—(loud cheers) and this Governor-General being on the eve of leaving the country, was it not a fitting and a useful opportunity for us to aid him in that, which perhaps, without such aid, he might not have found the opportunity, or had the power to do? (Loud cheers.) You will recollect that, though he be powerful, yet he wields but a delegated power, that he is responsible though not to the public, though it be but to a few, and those at a distance—that the measure which we think so wise, may not be viewed with much approbation by some of those to whom he may have to give an account of his conduct—that it may be necessary for him to be able to say to them, when stating what he has done, that the people of Calcutta had, in the strongest and most marked manner and as a parting legacy of good gifts, requested him to remove these pernicious restraints—that it may be necessary for him to be able to bring in aid this sanction for a particular part of his conduct, the general tenor of which cannot but be approved by those to whom he may have to render an account. (Loud cheers.) It was for this reason, that I and all of us who have in this end acted, together, conceived the present time well chosen. Gentlemen, the day will wear out, if those who have to address the meeting, do not consult the necessity of brevity. I will therefore, with your leave, proceed at once to the business of the Meeting, and read and explain to you the contents of this petition. I may preface it, however, by a few observations. The petition embraces two objects only—for though the first of those objects is the repeal of two laws, yet the object is one; for I am proud to say, we do make a common cause with the natives. (Loud cheers.) Our object is not merely to remove restrictions imposed upon periodical publications in Calcutta, but to remove restrictions imposed upon all printing, and all circulation of all books, in all languages, throughout the country. With respect to the ordinance, registered in the Supreme Court, and which effects periodical publications in Calcutta, it is unnecessary to read more than the preamble:—

A RULE, ORDINANCE, *and* REGULATION *for the Good Order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, made and passed by the Honourable the Governor-General in Council, of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the Fourteenth Day of March in the year of Our Lord, one Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-Three.*

Whereas, matters tending to bring the Government of this country as by Law established into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in the Newspapers and other Papers published in Calcutta, for the prevention whereof, it is deemed expedient to regulate by Law, the Printing and Publication within the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, of Newspapers, and of all Magazines, Registers, Pamphlets, and other Printed Books and Papers, in any language or character, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news, and intelligence or strictures on the acts measures, and proceedings of Government, or any political events or transactions, whatsoever

Then the enactment which follows, is an absolute prohibition to prevent the printing and publication of any such works without licence, to be withdrawn at the pleasure of the government, without cause assigned. If those mischiefs mentioned in the preamble had then any existence, I must apply the saying of the Roman Historian, *Ut olim flagitium, sic, nunc legibus laboramus*, that if it be true such mischief ever existed, still the permanent remedy was worse. The other regulation, which was passed for the more fussil, I may spare the meeting the trouble of reading. It is to the effect that no publication on any subject, within the whole compass of human thought, can be permitted to issue from the Native Press, or any book in any language be circulated, without the previous permission of Government; and if the attempt be made, the person who makes it, is subject to most heavy penalties. Need I waste argument, upon such a subject in order to prove unwise and unjust? I will proceed at once to the petition, and I think you will agree with me that, in its objects, it is moderate, and in its language sufficiently respectful:—

TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Calcutta.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,—That on the 14th day of March 1823 a law, entitled a "rule Ordinance and Regulation for the good order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, was made and passed by the Honorable the Governor-General in Council of this Presidency" and registered in the Supreme Court on the 4th of April in the same year.

That on the 5th April 1823, the Governor-General in Council was pleased to issue a Government Order or Notification in their Gazette, addressed to Proprietors and Editors of Newspapers and periodical works specified in the aforesaid rule and ordinance, informing them that the publication in such newspaper or periodical publication of matter coming under any of the following heads, would subject them to be deprived of their licence, that is to say.

Then comes that which Mr. Turton read to you in his opening address. The Government comment upon its own regulation, is set forth in the petition. The object, as you may suppose, was not to swell the bulk of the document, but to make known to the public, throughout India and England, what sort of construction the Government did put upon this regulation.—for otherwise it would hardly have been credited. A part of the concluding observations of Government, Mr. Turton omitted:—

"The foregoing rules impose no irksome restraints on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest, relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper, and decorum which the Government has a right to expect from those living under its protection, neither do they preclude individuals from offering in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments relative to matters affecting the interests of the community.

"It will be the duty of the Chief Secretary to the Government, and that officer is hereby enjoined to bring to the notice of Government, without delay, any infringment of the foregoing rules by the Conductors of news papers or other periodical works, published in the English language; and the same duty is assigned to the Persian Secretary to the Government with relation to newspapers and other periodical publications, in the languages of the country."

It is not my intention, gentlemen, to make observations at this time of day, and after the *practical* liberty we have long enjoyed, which might revive old animosities. I will not characterise this document as I once

would have characterized it; but you will recollect it has been said, there is no servitude so miserable as where the law is vague and uncertain. What was the condition of a proprietor of a periodical publication, under such a law as this? Why, that no man knew when he committed what was deemed a fault, for what he incurred a penalty. At the time that the question of the stamp act was under discussion, I was engaged in conducting a publication similar to that which was conducted by my friends who are now sitting opposite to me. Were we not writing day by day and month by month, to the same end, in the same strain and the same style? Can I not declare that if boldness of writing was that which was displeasingt o the Government, I ought to have incurred its censure as often as they did? I most conscientiously can. And yet, what was the result? The *Calcutta Chronicle*, conducted by them, was suppressed, and the *Bengal Chronicle*, written for, in all the editorial articles, by me, was allowed to exist. I ask any man to go through the files of the two journals, and say which of the two contained the strongest expressions; and yet the result was, that Mr. Samuel Smith retained his journal, while the two gentlemen opposite who at their own expense, had established a rival paper, were ruined and crushed—their journal was suppressed, and no one knew for what—some said, for a copy of verses on some gentlemen, others, for an article on the Burmese war, and others, for a Latin quotation allnding to an act of the Chief Secretary of the day "in these terms" *Risum teneatis Amici*, with a note of admiration at the end of it! Which of these constituted the actual delinquency, was and is a secret confined to the breasts of those who suppressed the paper—all I can say is, what the offence was, you do not know, and they who were punished for, it do not even now know. Is it fit, such a state of things should continue? Or is it fit that a state of what is called law, where such things may again be possible should continue. I humbly opine not, and I think not one of you but will agree with me it is unfit. The petition proceeds to say—

"That on the 5th April, 1823, the said Governor-General in Council also passed a regulation for the good Government of the inferior of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, numbered Regulation III., and entitled a Regulation for preventing the Establishment of Printing Presses without Licence, and for restraining under certain circumstances, the circulation of printed books and papers; which being intended to operate without the limits of Calcutta, was carried so far as to prohibit the printing of any books and papers whatsoever, unless previously licenced; and also the circulation of any printed books or other papers whatsoever, if prohibited by Government.

"That the preamble of the registered rule and regulation for the good order and civil government of Calcutta, recites that matters tending to bring the Government of this country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt and to disturb the peace, harmony and good order of Society having of late been frequently printed and circulated in the newspapers, it is expedient to prevent such supposed mischief by regulating by law the publication of all printed books or papers published periodically; which expression "to regulate by law," meant, as plainly appears by the enactments which follow it, the prohibiting all such publications without previous licence, to be granted or withdrawn at the pleasure of Government, and without cause assigned.

"That the unregistered regulation for the rest of the Presidency simply recites that it is expedient to prohibit throughout its extent the future establishment of Printing Presses, and the use of any such Presses or of Types or other materials for Printing, except with the previous sanction and licence of Government, and under suitable provisions to guard against abuse.

"That your Petitioners humbly conceive that these laws, made to restrain the free expression of the thoughts of men, are unnecessary to the support of power in any country which is subject to the Crown of England,—and ruled in any degree by the maxims which ought to guide the conduct of Englishmen: that they are contrary to sound policy and to true wisdom; that they are not calculated to preserve the power of that Government, which has condescended to make use of them, but to impair it; that they are, in brief, not merely useless, but mischievous, and are degrading alike to those who imposed and those who have to obey them.

"That your Petitioners deem it superfluous in addressing the Governor-General of India in Council to enlarge upon the advantages that spring in *free* countries from the liberty of unlicenced printing.

"That your Petitioners are fully aware of the arguments by which, in this country in which a large native population is ruled by foreigners few in number, but superior in knowledge, these restrictions have been and may again be defended.

"That these restrictions, in respect to publications in the English language, have been defended on the grounds that the number of Englishmen in this country is insignificant; that those who came hither not in the service of the East India Company, came hither by sufferance and under licence, and had therefore no ground of complaint; to which your Petitioners have to answer, that the restraint upon the resort of Englishmen to this country no longer exists; that while it did exist it could in no wise justify an abridgment of the rights possessed by them in England and under its laws, because even in this country, when they did come, those laws were guaranteed to them; that no question of right is insignficant, nor can its importance in principle be measured by its application to numbers; and lastly, that every Englishmen who comes to this country, although not in their service was strongly interested in the just maintenance and exercise of the national power and supremacy as the body of the Proprietors composing the East India Company, or their servants themselves.

"That it has never, to the knowledge of your Petitioners, been pretended even that any danger to the existence of the English power and national supremacy could arise from the use of the English language in periodical publications, unless the preamble of the registered Regulation of the 4th April, 1823, be taken to have such meaning. That your petitioners on the contrary allege, that the number of natives of India conversant with the language of England is still deplorably small; that such knowledge has scarcely begun to exist beyond the limits of Calcutta; that periodical literature is one of the readiest means of increasing the knowledge of the English language among those who already posess some, and of inspiring a more extensive taste and desire for its acquisition among the great body of natives; while, in the present state of native education and knowledge in this presidency, it is obvious, that it never can for a very long period of time become generally enough understood to afford even a pretence for apprehending danger to the supremacy of England from its use in the periodical publications of India, even if danger can with reason be apprehended from such a source.

"That with whatever greater shew of reason, danger to the supremacy of England may be considered likely to arise from publications, periodical or otherwise, in the vernacular languages of this presidency, your Petitioners cannot admit that such dangers justify a prohibition of all printing or publishing in such languages without licence.

"That one of the dangers prominently brought forward by some of the ablest advocates of such restrictions, viz. the danger to be apprehended by the disseminating libels and false intelligence among the native soldiery, is likely to be diminished instead of increased by the liberty of unlicenced printing, inasmuch as the nature of the act implies that it must be done clandestinely; that it could be done as effectually if not more so by written than by printed libels or falsehoods; that its chief danger lies in the ignorance and consequent credulity of the parties addressed; that such dangers would decrease with the increase of knowledge among the native community whose better knowledge would tend to correct false impressions, and to diminish credulity? that finally the danger if it exist, can never, by any contrivance, be fully guarded against; that the prohibition of printing without previous licence in no degree guards against it; for it is chimerical to suppose that in case where strong motive exists unlicenced and secret presses could not be procured, or that seditious and mischievous falsehood, could not be clandestinely printed even at a licenced press, so as to elude detection.

"That arbitrary prohibitions against the open circulation of obnoxious native publications seem most peculiarly uncalled for in a country where the local Government has unlimited power in regard to the application of the existing Revenues, where Stamp duties may be applied to such publications in the interior at will, and where newspapers are still subjected to a heavy rate of postage."

I am afraid you may have found the reading of this petition somewhat tedious, but I think you must agree with me, that, after the objections which have been raised and which could not but be foreseen to putting the natives on the same footing with ourselves, in regard to the periodical press, it was necessary some arguments should be urged, to meet those which have been advanced by certain persons of considerable influence and talent, and whom I may denominate the advocates of the East India Company. The persons to whom I allude are Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone, and Sir Thomas Munro; and the petition has been framed with express reference to the objections they have made, particularly the danger to be apprehended from the dissemination of libels among the native soldiery—the petition alleges, and I apprehend by sound argument proves, that that danger will be diminished by the existence of a free press. If we consider for a moment what that is, which is called "the Press" we shall perceive more clearly that under a tolerable form of Government can it be really dangerous. It is a favorite sophism of its opponents that the Press creates discontent. That I deny where there is full reason or content. It may torment, exaggerate, palliate or soothe—nothing more; for the press creates nothing—it simply gives a voice to the public content or discontent. Without doubt, where that voice is suppressed, there may be more seeming quiet—if causes of discontent exist, they may not be expressed—all may be still and calm, like the torrent's smoothness ere it dash below, until the explosion takes place, and the revolution but too common in Asiatic Annals—the revolution of force ensues. (Loud Cheers.) Is not such a quiet the greatest of all dangers for any government, and for this government especially? If the press be *free*, and if causes of discontent do exist, they will be heard and the government may view them at a distance, and ward off the coming blow,—if there should be discontent from our tampering with native usages, or if there should be irritation among the soldiery, the government may, through the medium of the dress, when there shall be a press that is free, know before hand where the dangers lie. As to the instance given by Sir John Malcolm of written libels having been scattered through his camp, at Malwa, it amounts to nothing at all—suppose it were so—how does the freeing the periodical press increase such danger? What relation has the one thing with the other? The circulation of such libels is, from its very nature, a thing clandestine in its origin, and in no way can such a danger be increased by giving the natives the fullest liberty periodically or otherwise to print and publish which are things the reverse of clandestine.

Gentlemen, I shall not detain you long upon the other part of the question,—that portion of the petition which relates to the restraints on public meetings. I have been asked why we have mixed up the two questions, I apprehend the one has a natural relation to the other, though it might perhaps have been in some respects according to the judgments of others, a matter of convenience to have divided them. My answer to this, however, is that a large public meeting is not very easily collected in this city, and therefore I think the balance of convenience was in favor of comprising both questions in one requisition and one petition. Perhaps, gentlemen, some of you may not know what *are* the restraints which exist in this town on public meetings. I will tell them to you, and they may strike some of you with surprise, The restraint on public meetings in this town, consists in a paragraph of a general letter of the Court of Directors, written in 1806, published in the *Government Gazette* in 1807, and since undeviatingly acted upon, but never with my knowledge republished, except by myself when writing for the *Bengal Chronicle*. It is as follows:

FORT WILLIAM; PUBLIC DEPARTMENT APRIL 9, 1807.

The following Extract from a general Letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, dated the 23rd of July 1806, is published for general information.

"We direct, on the receipt of this dispatch, that public notice be issued, forbidding *under pain of our high displeasure* any public Assemblage, either of our own Servants or of private Merchants, Traders, or other inhabitants whatsoever, without first obtaining the sanction of the Government, through the medium of the Sheriff for the time being; and we further direct that with the application for holding such meetings, the subjects intended to be taken into consideration be also submitted to your previous consideration, in order that you may have it in your power to judge of the propriety of allowing the questions that may be proposed, to be agitated, and on no consideration whatever is the Sheriff, or the officer presiding at such meetings, to allow any subject to be considered that has not been previously submitted for your consideration. We have full confidence, however, that our Governments in India will not preclude our Servants or other European Inhabitants from meeting for the, purpose of expressing their sentiments, whenever proper subjects are submitted for their deliberation."

Published by order of the Honorable the Governor in Council,

(Signed) THOS. BROWN,
Chief Secy. to Govt.

That, gentlemen, is the whole restraint upon public meetings in this town. That it has the force of a law I cannot say, for as it is stated in this petition, it is not law; it is against law, and it claims therefore the attention and obedience of no one except as a question of prudence. But how was it enforced or how could it be enforced? It could have been enforced, not indeed; under pain of the high displeasure of the Court of Directors, but under fear of transmission and banishment, a power which if the Governor-General dared to exercise, he was at liberty to exercise. That was the real power which at the date of its promulgation especially and long after enforced obedience to this order of the Court of Directors. They, a body of traders, not having the power to make through their Government a local ordinance to take effect in Calcutta, an English settlement, without its being registered in the Supreme Court, and only then, provided it contain nothing contrary to the laws of England issued this rescript of theirs to the Governor-General to prevent their fellow subjects from exercising a constitutional right! Is it right we should live under a restraint, when we have had the experience of orderly public meetings held in this place, an English settlement for more than a century, when no more orderly community for all that space of time can be found to have existed any where, and no one evil can be shown to have arisen from public meetings? It may be asked, is this restraint founded in this rescript from the Directorial purple any thing more than a dead letter. I am prepared at all points. I will show you a recent, gross, and inexcusable abuse by the government of the power with which it is invested. In 1827 it was proposed by the government, under powers which it seems they discovered after they had lain for years dormant in two sections of an Act of Parliament, to impose a stamp tax on the inhabitants of Calcutta, for the purpose, it was said, of putting them on a footing with the rest of the community. The inhabitants had this objection, that taxing them would *not* put them on a footing with the rest of the community, as Englishmen had not the power of residing in the interior without licence, and as they paid heavy municipal taxes not fairly or at all applied to their proper ends, which the rest of the community did not pay. But whether the objections were reasonable or not, they thought at least they had a right to be heard. A requisition was signed and delivered to the Sheriff of that day. Mr. Plowden, the first clause of which was—

SIR—We the undersigned request that you will be pleased to convene a Meeting of the British and Native Inhabitants of Calcutta, at the Town Hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration, the *expediency of presenting a Petition or Petitions to Parliament for declaratory Acts, or if necessary for new enactments*, relating to the following subjects, all and each of which involve interests of great importance to this community:—

So that, as you will observe, the first clause of this was simply to convene a public meeting to take into consideration the *expediency* of petitioning Parliament. This it was, and no more. The meeting *was* called by the Sheriff, but without the previous application to government. The result was the following notice from Mr. Plowden:—

NOTICE—Is hereby given, that the Meeting called under a Requisition signed by J. Palmer, Esq and other Inhabitants of Calcutta and advertized for the 17th instant, at the Town Hall will not take place.
Calcutta, May 12, 1827. T. PLOWDEN, *Sheriff.*

Here is the letter to Mr. Palmer.

TO JOHN PALMER, ESQ. AND OTHER REQUISITIONISTS.

GENTLEMEN,—The notice of the Meeting advertized to take place at the Town Hall on the 17th instant having from inadvertence been published in the papers without previous reference to the authority of the Government as required by a notification issued in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 9th April 1807, I have been called upon to explain the omission and the result has been that the Meeting has been disallowed by the Right Honorable the Vice President in Council. I have accordingly issued a notice stating it cannot take place at the Town Hall on that day.

2. Mr. Chief Secretary Lushington, in communicating the orders of Government, informs *that the Government consider themselves precluded, by the positive orders of the Honorable the Court of Directors, from sanctioning any General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, having for its object the discussion of topics of the nature of those comprized in the first clause of your Requisition.*

What was the nature of those topics? It was to take into consideration the expediency of petitioning Parliament. I ask was that or was it not a reasonable exercise of an undoubted right—was its prohibition a reasonable exercise of an unlawful power, If that was the meaning of Mr. Lushington's letter, I say that a more jealous, senseless, and capricious exertion of arbitrary power never occured—the Government says, it is our pleasure you should not be heard, and should not be allowed to meet to consider the expediency of petitioning Parliament, although you are still governed by Parliament! But I apprehend that that paragraph had another meaning The Court of Directors say—

* * * * "We have full confidence, however, that our Governments in India will not preclude our servants or other *European* inhabitants from meeting for the purpose of expressing their sentiments, whenever proper subjects are submitted for their deliberation."

Then you find from the letter of Mr Lushington that the Government considers it is precluded from sanctioning any "general Meeting." Now that requisition was signed by a great number of the native community, and the result was the power of restraint was exercised. My own opinion is the Meeting was forbidden because it was a general Meeting of the inhabitants and not of the Europeans only. If that be so,—I again ask, ought such a state of things to continue? I know that there is not a man *here* who will say they ought and I know too that so much has time wrought change in the thoughts of men, and in the sources of power, that no man *any where*, will *now* be bold enough publicly to defend such proceedings. Having this is performed the duty that has devolved upon me, I have only in conclusion to observe that the prayer of our Petition was not made more specific for an obvious reason. All we pray for, is the abolition of the existing regulations, and we pray not over-anxious for new laws of libel,,) that if any new enactment should be considered necessary, it may be printed in time to enable us to offer any objections that we may have to urge, before it is passed. This I apprehend is a reasonable and moderate prayer.

(Mr. Dickens sat down amidst loud cheers.)

BABOO DWARKANAUTH TAGORE.—Gentlemen, in rising to second the resolution that this petition be adopted, I am only doing that which I did ten years ago. When this regulation was first promulgated, I, with three of my own relations, and my lamented friend, the late Rammohun Roy, were the only person who petitioned the Supreme Court against it; but most sincerely do I congratulate the community at large, that I now see the whole room of the Town-Hall filled, both with Europeans and Natives for the purpose of protesting against that regulation. At that time I did not ask any European to sign a petition, his signature to which might have subjected him to transportation—the same objection however did not exist in the case of the natives, for the Government even of that day could hardly have transported them. (*Laughter,*) But none of the natives could I prevail upon to join me, and I believe it was thought I should be hanged the next day for my boldness. I think the present is the very time we ought to petition against the regulation; because for the last eight years we have under the rule of Lord William Bentinck, enjoyed a really free Press, in spite of its provisions (*Cheers.*) If we could only secure Lord William Bentinck as a Governor-General, there would be no need of a petition, for with him this law is a dead letter, as well as many of the Court of Director's letters—but we do not know who we may get next; and for any thing we can tell to the contrary, Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Stocqueler may be turned out by the next Governor-General. This then is the time we ought to petition; and I have every hope, from the known character of Lord William Bentinck, and from the interest he has always taken in the welfare of the natives, and in that of the community at large, that he will repeal, the regulation; and when once it is repealed, I think it will be difficult for any future Governor-General to get it enacted again. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Some discussion took place, in consequence of a suggestion, by Mr Mangles, whether it might not be better to put the grounds of the objection to the restrictions upon public meetings, upon the general principles urged by Mr. Dickens, which were unanswerable, instead of resting upon the illegality of the restaint, a point upon which few men who were not lawyers, were competent to decide. The alteration was opposed by Mr. Turton, Mr. Dickens, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Sutherland. There could be no doubt that the restraint was unconstitutional, unwise and unjust; but it was also clearly illegal. *It* did not require any professional knowledge of law, to enable a man to understand this. Nothing could be considered as a law binding upon the inhabitants of Calcutta, until it was embodied in a bye-law, and registered in the Supreme Court. That course was not pursued in this instance; but the government had other means of inforcing obedience. In the case of Mr. Plowden for instance, who was civil servant, the government had over him, not only the general power which they possessed over other individuals, but also that particular power which they might exercise over their own servants. Mr. Plowden could not, with safety, have acted otherwise than he did—if Mr. Turton had been the Sheriff at the time, he might perhaps have said that he would not act upon that illegal order of the government, that he would, as Sheriff, call the meeting, and then all the government could have done, would have been to have sent him back to that country which he sincerely regretted he had ever left. It might perhaps have entered into the head of the Military Vice-President of that day, who was probably more conversant with arms than with laws, to have dispersed the meeting at the point of the bayonet; but that would have been a violation of law, at which every Englishman would have revolted, and it would have required a tolerably bold Governor-General to have dared to attempt it. It was impossible to say this letter of the Court of Directors was entitled to any obedience as a legal command—it was a mere assumption of authority by them, without a shadow of foundation, to prevent their fellow subjects from exercising a natural right. It might perhaps be a matter of minor importance in consequence of the way in which it had been acted upon, but it was not of minor importance in point of principle Every Englishman must know that his right of petitioning Parliament, was part of the law and part of the constitution of England; any attempt to interfere with that right, was not only unauthorized by law, but violoted all law.

After some further desultory conversation, the original resolution, proposed by Mr. Dickens, was put and carried unanimously.

THE CHARTER.

Mr. Dickens then rose, and addressed the meeting to the following effect. Gentleman, it has fallen to me (and, allow me to say, I wish it had fallen to some one of those whom I now see at and me, and who, in my humble opinion ought not to have declined the duty) to move the following resolution:

"That the New Act for the Government of India is essentially defective in its provisions for attaining one of its professed objects, viz. the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories, while by the arrangement effected with the East India Company, a burthen of insupportable magnitude is laid upon the people of India for the sole benefit of the proprietors of East India Stock. And that therefore it is expedient to petition the Parliament of the United Kingdom to obtain an amendment and revision of the Act."

I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible, in what I have to say, because the gentleman who will propose, for your adoption, a petition founded upon the resolution I have just read, will have to explain it to you at a length that will necessarily bring this day nearly to a close. I therefore waive every introductory observation, and shall proceed at once to a short exposition of some of the main grounds and reasons for supporting this resolution. The Act of Parliament that has been lately passed, is entitled, "An act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories." Now it is my humble opinion, and I trust it will be yours, that the first only of these objects—the "effecting an arrangement with the East India Company"—has in any way been attained; and that at your expence. What are then, as far as regards this arrangement, the main provisions of the Act? The East India Company, since the reign of Queen Anne, had a commercial capital in England, which they were bound to keep up as a security for their commercial speculations—they had also loaded the country with a heavy territorial debt. It is clear that the payment of the territorial debt contracted as it was for territorial purposes, on the security of the public revenues, should not be postponed to the payment of the commercial capital that were not forthcoming, or that fact was doubtful; but the fact is, that the security of the territorial credit or has been postponed, and the commercial capital has been paid in full in preference to all other charges whatever in Great Britain As the whole power of Government belongs to the East India Company, to say that the commercial capital shall be paid in preference to all charges in Great Britain, is to say that it shall be paid in preference to all charges whatever. This I contend is a breach of public faith, done without examination of accounts, and without hearing the Indian creditors, who had a right to object. It may be said that this was done by the British Parliament under the pressure of circumstances. I deny the necessity to commit injustice. I deny the *necessity*, in any possible case of deciding without hearing, and I say that they have, in this, found time to decide on pretence they had no time to hear, and have, in consequence, postponed the claims of the territorial creditor, and lessened to him that which was his only security, for the purpose of paying an extravagant dividend to the Commercial creditor, who had the means of making himself heard, being on the spot, and would have been in England to an embarrassed minister a formidable opponent—an extravagant dividend far above the market value of the stock at the time the Act was passed. It may be said it is useless for us to insist, now that the act is done, on this, which may be termed a financial objection—that whatever may be the amount of the evil, there is now no chance that it will be remedied. I do not admit the validity of this answer—supposing there is no chance of the evil being remedied, still it is not our only ground of complain; and we shall come before Parliament with a better grace upon our other grounds of complaint, if we show them that they have subjected us, to an injustice which cannot now be remedied.

Then I come to the second head of objection; the provisions which have been made "for the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories." I would ask, any person to point them out to me. I cannot find them. It may be said that the destruction of the commercial character of the East India Company, the removal of the monopoly of the China trade, and the permission given to Europeans, to reside in certain parts of the interior, without licence, are provisions for the better government of India. As to the two first, I deny that they are to be considered under that head at all. The destruction of the commercial character of the East India Company, may, or may not, be a benefit to themselves—it would require an accurate examination of all their accounts, to enable one to decide the point; but if it be a benefit, it is a benefit to themselves. Their trade to India had ceased to be an injury to the free Merchants. The destruction of the China Monopoly, is an undoubted benefit to the people of England, but in what possible way, is it a benefit to the people of India, who are not effected by it? Lastly, that the permission to those of the class to which I belong, to reside at a distance of more than ten miles from this place, is a benefit to some extent, I admit, or rather, it would be one, were it not clogged with that uncertainty of law, which seems to have been specially intended to act as a permanent restriction. You will understand me when I say that, as to that most unwise and arbitrary power of transmission, whether it do, or whether it do not exist, is still left at the best in doubt. When the legislature of Great Britain, after a continuing notice of twenty years that the period must arrive, when they would have to form a new constitution for the Government, of this country, at length came

to the performance of that task, ought such a question as this—a question of such vital moment—to have been passed over in silence? Ought the rights of the natural born subjects of His Majesty to have any sort of security for the very existence of their property against a summary power of transportation at will, to be referred in a lump to the discretion of the Governor General in Council, Parliament transferring the whole responsibility to their shoulders, who were thus called on to find reasons as it were, for justifying their retention of power? Say if this Act had been framed in the spirit of wise and cautious legislation, this difficulty would have been considered; and the British Parliament would not have left the question in the same unsettled state it was before, but would have met the difficulties, if such they were, on such a subject, have considered and decided. This, gentlemen, is my objection to that permission to reside in the interior being in reality a benefit to that class, for whose benefit perhaps it was intended. Then let us look at the state of commercial questions as between us and the rest of the colonies of England. Do you behold any evidence of a fit and proper consideration for the interests of this country upon that subject? One of the great staples of this country, is sugar—upon that there is a duty which is almost prohibitory—the effect of that is felt by every man who works her—was it not, a fit subject for the consideration of Parliament. Was it fit we should be left, under such circumstances, to the rivalry of the West India Colonies, and of a colony on this side of the Cape of Good hope, more especially after the events of the last session of Parliament? In that session, the West India proprietors received, from the bounty of the people of England, a sum of twenty millions sterling at once, in the lump, as a compensation for their slave property—am I saying that was unjust, of the bargain was extravagant? I do not say as to the principle of compensation, I hold to be a just principle; and I am without the means of saying whether the amount was extravagant or not. But I do say that, in the very same session of Parliament, a burden of a million sterling per annum was imposed upon the people of this country—I say that the sum to be paid as the amount of the dividend, with the other additional expences imposed by that Act, will amount to that sum—and then I ask, was it reasonable or just to impose upon the people of India a burden, equivalent to the bonus given to the West India proprietors, without affording us any means of lightening that heavy pressure, by increased facilities of commerce? This, Gentlemen, is not an evil that is remediless; but I will venture to say, it never will be remedied, unless we all record, in the strongest possible manner, our sense that we are not treated with justice. Is this the only disability under which the commerce of India labors? It is not. I will not however occupy your time by naming the others, but will simply say, that as the question of commerce stood before the passing of that Act, so, in all respect, is it now—though you have a large and onerous burdens imposed upon you, yet your condition, in respect to commerce, is left just as it was before. In vain will you expect any remedy, unless you bestir yourselves.

Lastly, let us come to what I may call the constitutional part of the question—the state of the law. What was it before? What is it now? The class to which I belong, in common with the inhabitants of Calcutta of every class, had this security, that we could be subject to no local regulation which was repugnant to the laws of England—that security we have lost. Will any man tell me, who has gained by our loss? Not one. If to put us all upon a footing, means, to leave us all upon the same dead level of insecurity, then certainly I do admit we are all alike on the same footing! (*Loud Cheers.*) By this reckless Act of the legislature a torrent of arbitrary power has been passed over us, levelling all distinctions, all institutions, and leaving nothing upright but a Colossus of despotism. (*Loud cheers.*) It leaves the Governor General in possession of more power than any Tudor ever swayed, of more perhaps than any man ever held, save a dictator of Old Rome! It may be said that these powers are held by him subject to control—to what control? To a Parliamentary impeachment, if his motives should be proved to be wrong, of which, proof is impossible! With such powers a bold bad man may do any thing; a wise man perhaps might refrain—but there is nothing that a weak, a wicked, or an arbitrary man may not do, short of the privation of life without trial. The whole power is given to him—he has a Council indeed—but it is in every respect rendered subordinate to his will. Shall I be mocked, by being told that a security has been added by the provision that one of the members of that Council shall be a person not in the service of the East India Company? I repel with scorn the notion of such a security! I say it without flattery to any man or any class of men, but I for one would rather have the council composed, as it was before, of members of the Civil Service—at all events, they possess the first of requisites, except integrity, for the task of reputation and government, local knowledge and experience, which one named by the crown may not have—in integrity, in all other knowledge they are equal—they are like ourselves, like any one who may be appointed, educated Englishmen. It may be said the choice of the fourth member is unrestrained—I admit it is so—I admit the Master of the Crown is free to choose one who possesses local knowledge—he is free to choose one who possesses local knowledge—he is free also to choose one who does not. Then what is this pretended security? Recollect the veto and power of control is taken away from the Court of Directors, and given to the Minister of the Crown—the power has changed hands. Then, instead of this provision being a security, I say that it is the reverse; for it authorizes the appointment of one who is the nominee of the authorities at home—may be their pledged instrument for any ends. It may be said also, there is a Law Commission appointed—without doubt there is, and what has it to do? To frame a system of law for the whole of British India, a system of law and process which shall be *uniform*—and the instruction it receives for this very light task, is, that it shall make it as uniform as possible! (*cheers*) Do you consider that in such provisions you find the provisions of profound legislative wisdom, or the traces of gigantic labour and care? It seems to me scarcely possible to throw off with more indifference the duties of legislation, and cast them upon those who, if I mistake not, it will soon be found cannot perform them, and ought never to have been called upon to do so. Then the Commissioners are to act under the direction of the perpetual Governor General! And not a single limit is assigned to their power, not a single security under the sanction of Parliament afforded to us, not a path traced out for their guidance, but they who may be possessed of some qualifications for the task are to act and enquire under the sole dictation of one man, who it is next to impossible can have any qualifications whatever for such a task. They have a task imposed upon them which no men can perform, and the execution of which is a wild chimera. Uniformity of law, in a country like this, with upwards of a hundred million of inhabitants, of various races and divers religions, in which two different systems, the Hindoo and the Mahoumdan, irreconcilable with each other, and each bound up with the religion of its followers, are permanently rooted—uniformity of law under such circumstances! But more than this—the Commissioners are to reduce these two discordant systems, themselves divided into many subdivisions, to an uniformity with a third law our own, which we inherit as our birth right. (*loud cheers.*) This system is to operate upon Englishmen—upon intelligent Hindoos who have received the benefits of English education—upon such a class as the Military tribes of upper Hindoostan—upon Bheels—upon Cossyahs—upon a population as diversified as can be exhibited by any country on the face of the Globe! Then there is to be a uniform system of process—impossible. Consider the usages of Asiatics—consider our own—how incompatible—how opposed—in their every nature how impossible to be conjoined! A uniform process, when among the Hindoos no female can with the slightest propriety appear in public, and no Zenana can be entered! Apply this system to ourselves, among whom no such feelings exist! Is the system so be universal? it is to be applicable to all persons, and under all circumstances? Are natives of the highest rank to be put on the same footing with others? Why then it would become a political matter, the Government would be obliged to interfere. For service of legal process on a man of rank by Asiatic notions for sooth degrades him, and it would require a local law or a fresh resistance to the discretion so to restrain the uniform system. I say again, the task imposed upon the future Law Commission is nothing better than a chimerical attempt to compass what is impossible, a signal example of the absurdity of its framers. Then with regard to the remaining provisions of the Act. The Legislative Council thus formed is to receive no assistance. Is it too much to say that when a power of legislation, guarded by an obscurity, is given, not to the Council, but to one individual, there ought to be a previous promulgation of the laws to one individual, there ought to be a previous promulgation of the laws about to be passed? Am I wrong in asking that that reasonable security shall be prescribed by Act of Parliament? That has not been prescribed. What is the mode of promulgation required by the Act? The Court of Directors are to be sent with the approbation of the Board of Control! I think it is not too much to ask that the laws should at least be made public before they are enacted, in order that those who are to obey them may have an opportunity of objecting to them; and that the constitution of the Legislative Council should be rendered less exclusive and useless. To that extent does the prayer of the petition go, and to that extent, I think the feeling of all present will go along with it. (*Loud cheers.*)

Baboo Russic Krishna Mullick.—Gentlemen—In rising to second the resolution just proposed by Mr. Dickens, I must beg you to excuse any inaccuracy there may be in my mode of expressing my sentiments. I have to address you in a language foreign to me, foreign to the country which gave me birth—and this must plead my apology. Before I proceed to the immediate question, I must call your attention to one point to which I feel it necessary to allude. It may have been expected that the natives would be prepared to come forward and defend themselves against certain attacks which have been made upon the native Press—the natives were prepared to defend themselves, if the persons who made those attacks had had the boldness to come forward at this meeting, and propose any amendment to the resolutions; but as that has not been done, the natives did not consider themselves entitled to occupy your time by coming forward to repel an attack which has not been followed up. (*Loud Cheers.*) Gentlemen, Mr Dickens has drawn your attention to some of the most important defects in the new Act of Parliament, and certainly, after a careful perusal of it, however much it may have been intended for the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories, I cannot come to the conclusion that the clauses contained in it do in any way tend to their better Government (*Cheers.*) The more I have perused it, the more I have perceived that the motive which guided those who passed it was, *self*. (*Cheers.*) It was passed, not for the benefit of India, but for the benefit of the proprietors of India stock, and the benefit of the people of England, while the welfare of the millions who inhabit those vast regions was not at all cared for. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Dickens has directed your attention to the commercial debts of the Company being paid out of the territorial revenues. I think that unjust, and it shows the British Parliament were looking to the interests of the proprietors of the East India Stock, and not to those of the inhabitants of this country, (*Loud Cheers,*) We were already burdened with a heavy debt, and yet the British Parliament entailed upon us an addition burden to pay the commercial debts of the Company. It should have been considered whether those commercial debts could with propriety be paid out of the revenue of this country—if they were incurred through the folly and mismanagement of the servants of the Company, the burden should have fallen upon them, and not upon us. I shall not detain you longer upon this point, or go over the ground Mr. Dickens has already traversed; but there are one or two points he omitted, and to which, I, as a native must be allowed to advert. (*Loud Cheers.*) I will first allude to that clause in the Act by which the Ecclesiastical establishment of this country has been increased. I think a greater injustice could not have been committed. (*Loud Cheers.*) I know there are many who defend this, and who say that the civil and military servants require ministers to preach to them. It may be so, and it may be hard to deprive them of that blessing—but why should the revenues of this country, betaken from the hard earnings of the poor Indian, wretchedly fed and clothed to the purpose of extending a religion, which the native feel to be destructive both of their temporal and eternal happiness? (*Loud Cheers.*) There might be some excuse, if the object were merely a provision for the eternal interests of the Company's civil and military servants, but there is something more. It is said in the Act—"provided always that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Governor General in Council from granting from time to time, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Commissioners for the affairs of India to any sect or person, or community of Christians not being of the United Church of England and Ireland or to the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient, for the purpose of instruction or for the maintenance of places of Bishops." What does that mean, but that monday is to be taken out of the hands of the native to convert them to a faith which they consider to be wrong which they consider to be detrimental to their salvation! Is that just? Is it right? Is it in accordance with the precepts of that religion of which they boast so much? I have not found one word in their sacred book which warrants them to wrench money from the hands of an unwilling man to convert him to a faith which he believes to be wrong. (*Loud cheers.*) So much with respect to that clause, but there are others which as a native I must notice. It has been asked (not here, but elsewhere) if there is any thing in the Act to which a rational Englishman can object. Not being an Englishmen, I cannot judge of the feelings of Englishmen, but I do see a great deal to which I, as a rational native of India, do object. (*Cheers and Laughter.* It is asked if natives are to object to that clause by which all persons, of whatever religion or colour, are rendered eligible to office under the Government. Certainly not, but let us enter a little deeply into that question, and we shall find, that though such a clause is inserted, there are other things which render it nugatory. (*Cheers.*) I adhere to the necessity of education at the Haileybury College, an institution which, from what I have heard of it, I should think the sooner it is abolished, the better for all parties. (*Cheers.*) The best school for those who are to hold office in India, is India itself. (*Cheers.*) All the lessons they receive at Haileybury cause them but little to a practical acquaintance with the wants and feelings of the people of India. It must be by communicating with the natives, by speaking with them, by entering their wretched hovels, that any man can acquire that knowledge without which his best intentions will be in vain. (*Cheerrs.*) This is an objection to the College upon general grounds, but I will show that the clause has the effect of rendering utterly nugatory that other clause which makes the natives eligible to office. However one may regret the prejudice, still the natives entertain a prejudice that a sinful for them to cross the ocean, much more to remain in England for years for the purpose of tuition. That being so, how can a native qualify himself for office? He must either give up his worldly prospects or his religion. (*Loud Cheers.*) It is another question whether the Hindoos are sufficiently advanced to be entrusted with high office, but while this prejudice exists, if the legislature intended that clause to mean any thing at all, they ought to have made some other proposition to enable the natives to enter the civil service. (*Loud Cheers.*) Gentlemen, the more I read this Act, the more I am convinced the interests of the people of England were alone thought of. It has been said the tea monopoly has been abolished, and is that a measure to which we can object? No, but why was the tea monopoly abolished? For the welfare of the people of India? No—only for the welfare of the people of England. If our welfare was thought of why was not the monopoly of salt and opium abolished? (*Loud Cheers.*) Mr. Charles Grant has promised to do away with it, but when his promise will be fulfilled, heaven knows; I cannot say. (*Cheers and Laughter.*) Allusion has been made to the absolute power of the Governor General, and Mr. Dickens has shown you that he is more absolute than the Kings of England in their worst days—what check is there upon him? If this petition succeeds we may have one check (*cheers*), but the Parliament has taken from us one that already existed. The Supreme Court has always been a check, and that is now taken away. The Supreme Court is put under the power of the Governor General, and, to borrow words which have been written in one of the Journals of this city, "British Judges, whose independence is our pride and our glory, are reduced to be mere administrators of possibly ill-considered laws." (*Cheers.*) O Mr. Dickens has also alluded to the commercial interests of this country. In vain do I look for any clause that speaks of the removal of the restrictions upon commerce. I recollect Mr. Grant said that the merchant of Great Britain was an enterprizing; it was impossible not to attend to his calls, and do away with the tea monopoly. I cannot say what may be the enterprize of the merchants of Calcutta, but I ask, if those restrictions under which Indian Commercial hours, were removed, whether this country would not have flourished and increased in wealth and power far more than it has done. (*Long Cheers.*) There is another subject to which we hoped, but hoped in vain, the British Parliament would have given some attention. In this Act there is not one word about the subject of education. (Cheers.) Two additional Bishops have been provided for the comfort of the civil and military servants, but there is no provision whatever for the education of the people of India (Loud Cheers.) Gentlemen what are the conclusions at which we must arrive from this state of things. Read the act over and over again and you will find the truth of my remarks, however badly they have been delivered. Cheers I do humbly submit that we should petition the Legislature to remove some of the most obnoxious clauses in this Act, which disgrace the British name and power in India. (Loud Cheers.)

The Sheriff then put the resolution proposed by Mr. Dickens, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Turton. Gentlemen, I am extremely sorry to be obliged to detain you longer, but when I recollect the importance of the occasion, and that the present is a duty which at any rate you are but seldom called upon to perform, I think you will not object to remain and hear the petition which I am about to propose for your adoption, and that you will forgive me for trespassing further on your patience—for, in the discharge of our present duty, which is no light or trifling one, it is absolutely necessary we should show, that we are not acting without having maturely considered the subjects on which we intend to address Parliament. We owe the British Legislature that respect, for you will recollect this Act is the result of some year's discussion, and enquiry in both Houses as to the wants and rights of the people of India, and the duties which the British Government owes to His Majesty's Indian subjects; it is necessary, therefore, we should show the Legislature, that we have well weighed the points on which, we think, they have neglected their duties and been utterly unmindful of our interests. However, so much has already been said by Mr. Dickens, that I shall be spared the necessity of going much into detail, but for the reasons I have given, I cannot abstain from some observations. I do not hesitate to say that I regret most deeply, that there should be occasion to find any fault in this Act—it was passed by Ministers to whom, in addition to feelings of personal attachment which I bear to some of them, and the great personal and political respect which I entertain for others—I think we, and all the people of England, owe a heavy debt of gratitude, for the blessing they conferred upon us in bringing forward, and carrying, in spite of every obstacle, one great and glorious measure—that of Parliamentary Reform. Whatever faults they may have committed in the enactment we are now considering, I shall never forget that we owe them that debt; but, gentlemen, whatever attachment we may bear them, however much we may concur in their general political conduct, we must not allow any such feelings to blind us to their errors, or to render us heedless of our rights and interests, nor must it deter us, when we believe them to be wrong, from boldly telling them such is our conviction. I trace here, indeed, one injustice arising from that which has been already and will be hereafter, to a greater extent, the source of so much good—the Reform Bill. Though we suffer from it at present, I do not regret it, for it indicates a more lively participation in the representatives in the wishes of the people. But I cannot read this act without perceiving it has been past by a Parliament, the members of which have carefully, and I am sorry to say exclusively, studied the immediate interests of their own constituents and have postponed all other interests to them. The whole objects of this Act are British—the whole advantages are British—the whole benefit has been conferred upon those whom I may designate as the constituents of the Reformed Parliament. (*Cheers.*) To whom has the grant of all that has been granted, been owing? To those who have, for the first time, been truly represented in the British legislature. The representives of the great trading town have given to their constituents, or rather taken to themselves, all that their own interests required; but I am at a loss to find a single instance in which the interests of this country have been consulted, or indeed, that any attention has been paid to them. Can it be said that the reformed Parliament have given to this great subject, so far as India is concerned, even that care and attention which former Parliaments bestowed upon it? Whether I look to the proceedings in Parliament prior to the 13th George 3, or to the 33d George 3, or to the 53d George 3d, I find on the occasion of passing each of those Acts, and in the acts themselves, the spirit of diligent and laborious enquiry, and an anxious desire to legislate in detail for the benefit of the people of India. The opinions of the framers of those Acts may have been right or wrong, but they did endeavour to give to this country the constitution which they considered best adapted to its condition and its wants. The legislature gradually advanced from one act to another in a spirit of liberality in their legislation for India. (*Cheers.*) On this occasion they have ceased to advance. By the Act which I now hold in my hand, the Reformed Parliament has handed you over to the tender mercies of an individual, they have established a despotic government and transferred the whole labour and responsibility of legislation to others. (*Cheers,*) It is this of which I complain. I say it was time to appoint Committees, and to take evidence, and to investigate, if investigation was to be followed by no natural result, after it had taken place. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen I was not prepared until lately to put in this place any dissent from this opinion, for I have heard no other expressed any where; but, within these few days, I have seen, and read with astonishment, some remarks which appeared in a paper of this presidency. They are preceded by observations on the manner in which the question has been circulated. Let me say in the outset, that I am quite willing to take whatever blame or responsibility may be attached to the omission of sending the requisition to any one. I admit that with me originated the requisition, and that I, in conjunction with my friends and others whom I saw, who occurred to me as likely to join in the furtherance of those objects which I had in view—and delivered it to some at their request to submit to hers: but my other avocations would not allow of my devoting much time to it, or of searching it to all. I perceive from this article that I have incurred the heavy displeasure of one mighty and influential power. That there is one person who complains that it was not sent to him. Not having the honor of a constant and familiar intercourse with that individual I did not happen to see him during the time the requisition was in circulation, and certainly it did not occur to me to present it to him for his signature: whether it was shown to him by others or not, I do not know, and never enquired. But if his name had occurred to me, (as it is only amongst friends to the cause that I could have looked for signatures) has he not furnished ample reasons why I should have acted correctly in omitting to apply to him. If had the power of diving into the heart of man, and ascertaining what was passing in his, could I have judged more accurately or determined more correctly than by omitting to submit it to him for his signature and support. If I had been aware that his sentiments were such as are expressed in the article I hold in my hand, would it be a matter of surprise that I should not have referred such a subject to a man who tells you, you have but one cause of complaint in this act? I have probably offended others also by similar omissions. If so I am sorry for it, I intended to slight no man; but if I have offended him I have at least the satisfaction of knowing that in so doing I have not offended a friend to the cause. (*Cheers.*) I shall now proceed to observe on the remainder of this article. It is said, "As for the Indian act, which the sages of the city have permitted to remain undisturbed for so many month, we really can discover but one clause of its provisions against which rational Englishmen have any reason to protest. What gentlemen! Is it not time for an Englishman to protest when he is in danger of having his own laws taken from him, when with the assent of the Court of Directors, new laws may be passed by which he may be subjected to capital punishment and that even without trial by jury. The writer proceeds—there is surely nothing objectionable of the removal of all restrictions on the settlement of Europeans?" No, there is no objection to that, but there is a very great objection, and I say there is a very gross culpability on the part of the British Parliament in not having taken care, when they removed the restrictions nobody could have the power of imposing laws by which in effect they may be removed. I say it was gross culpability in them, not to have taken away in express and positive terms, the despotic power of the Governor General in regard to deportation. It is true that by this act liberty is given to British born subjects to reside at any place which were under the Government of the Company in 1800—but does this not repeal indirectly the power of deportation given under the act of 53, Geo. 3? If it does is the Governor General restrained from imposing laws to the same effect? There is indeed one clause in this act from which it may be contended, and I think with justice, that he is so—restricted. The 21 clause re-enacts all former provisions not repealed by or *repugnant* to this act, and by the 631 section the Governor General cannot pass laws to verify the provisions of the act. From this it may be contended that the Governor General can pass no law to remove any one from such residence—and I should say that he would be a bold man in these days who dared to exercise such power *if he possesses it. But still it rest in inference, and arguments would not be wanting on the other side where the will existed to make use of them.* Is that the way in which a law which deeply affects the rights and liberties of Englishmen ought to be left which has been made the subject of complaint, petition to Parliament for the last ten years. Should we not have had a direct enactment upon the subject? And yet for all that depends on positive enactment to-morrow—no, to-morrow we shall not, for to-morrow Lord William Bentinck will be here. (*Cheers,*) but as soon as he is gone, we may have a law and regulation passed, by which the Governor General may be empowered to send any person out of the country. You may have more than that—you may have an Act of Indian Parliament—(consisting of four members, gentlemen,) which shall not be a general act operating upon all, but an act levelled against any particular individual who may be obnoxious to the government. Nay the Governor-General against the advice of all his Council may pass it if he considers "the peace of India" requires it. Then if we are left in such a condition. I ask if the spirit of free loam pervaded the breast of the men who wrote the paragraph I have just read? (*Loud Cheers* The paragraph proceeds. "There is surely nothing offensive in the admission of all classes and colours to the paths to office?" I say that it is fallacious—it is a mere deception—the act pretends by one of its clauses to admit natives to office and that by another clause which makes Haileybury College the only road to qualification renders their admission an impossibility! It is a mere shuffle—but my native friend, who has just addressed you has rendered it unnecessary for me to say anything more upon this head. Then comes—" the addition to the members of council in the person of an independent and enlightened man." I suppose he takes in the *Englishman*. (*Laughter.*) "who acknowledges no special allegiance to the East India Company—is that objectionable?" To that I answer that if we have an enlightened and independent man, we owe it to the Government of the day and not to the act. Admitting we have such an individual, was he pointed out by the Act of Parliament? But the whole thing is altogether illusory! What power or influence has a single individual a mere member of the legislative, not of the general council when opposed to the other three members, and the Governor-General, who can control them all four! I agree with Mr. Dickens, that so far from this being a protection, it is in fact the reverse. A person is sent out from England, who is a person of influence at home, probably of parliamentary influence, and connected with the home government. He is the connecting link between the Council here and the Board of Control as the other members are between the Council and the Court of Directors, and he destroys the efficacy of the only appeal you have from arbitrary power in this country. The objection I have always made to a colonial residence, is that if you are injured by the puppet of power in a colony your appeal to those who sent him there is a farce. (*Cheers*) It has always been found so—it upon that ground amongst others that I differ

from some of my friends, who desire that the Government of this country should pass into the hands of His Majesty's Ministers. I do not desire it. I deprecate it altogether, I would not add the patronage to their influence, but, divide power and you lessen the temptation to abuse it. But gentlemen, how is this fourth member to act? He may assist in discussing a law before it is enacted—in passing it, it cannot be said that he can be called upon to assist. What power has that one individual, as separate from the body of the Council, he coming here without any previous knowledge regarding the country? What weight will his voice have against the three other, long acquainted with this country, with a Governor-General who is in the same predicament with himself! and this is the great benefit and advantage we have gained! Truly we ought to be grateful for it! But it is the fact that this fourth member owes no special allegiance to the Company? Is he not as much a servant of the Company as the others? Does he not receive their pay? Is he not removeable at their pleasure? After a person has come out here, and given up perhaps finally destroyed, his prospects at home for an appointment from which the Company can remove him, how is he to be called independent of them. His mind may be independent—his fortunes are not. (*Cheers.*) Next it is said, "is there any thing repugnant to the feelings and judgment of the requisitionists in the establishment of the Agra Presidency! If the safety of the state had required this measure, that would have been a reason why we should cheerfully submit to the additional expense, but will any man tell me, while the whole controul, the whole responsibility is vested in the Governor General and the Governor of Agra is a mere prefect in what respect the Government of the Agra Presidency is likely to be better administered by the new arrangement than it would have been by a local Commissioner? This provision, has the advantage of placing increased patronage in the gift of the Court of Directors and the great disadvantage of increasing the expense here. Next comes—"is there any thing irrational or impolitic in the new organization of our ecclesiastical establishment?" I approach this topic with some degree of dread, because it is the fate of every man who doubts the wisdom of increasing the Church Establishments to be set down as an Atheist, or at least as an Enemy of the Church, by a certain party. To whatever obloquy, however, being unjust, the performance of a duty may expose me I must submit I do not fear, however, being exposed to such obloquy in this assembly—although I do indisputably object to the increase of the number of Bishops at the expense of the country, and I ask with my intelligent native friend, whether it its just or reasonable that the people of India should pay for that increased establishment? I do not hesitate to declare my conviction that this provision was introduced not by the desire of Ministers but to conciliate a party. (*Loud Cheers.*) If I am an Atheist because I oppose this measure, if I am an Enemy to the Church, it is at least a consolation to know that I am one in common with the Court of Directors, who themselves were opposed to it. (*Cheers and Laughter.*) If it is an object of British anxiety, let the British people pay for it, or rather let those pay for it who are now over paid to an enormous amount. Ten per cent, is not enough for the India stock-holders pounds are not sufficient—"make it guineas" and the bargain is closed, (*Laughter.*) it seems to have been a kind of auction bargain. If they really are so desirous to have this increase of Bishops, let them give up their odd shillings—their half per cent, to pay for it. (*Laughter.*) It will be said, perhaps, that very little expense will be incurred, as the new Bishops are only to receive two thousand rupees a month; but we must not be deceived in this way—the salary is not the whole expense, and we shall soon be told that this salary is insufficient, as it is with reference to other of a similar rank, to maintain their station in society and it must be encreased. Next it is said—"Has mercantile ambition much to complain of in the total abolition of the tea monopoly?" London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Hull and all the ports in England, all the drinkers of England, have reason to be thankfull for it, but the people of this country have nothing whatever to do with it. The opening the China trade was insisted upon by the constituents of the House of Commons, the English people. In this way their representatives paid for the votes they got, and which in some instances were made to depend upon their being for or against what was called "the Indian manopoly;" but an Indian monopoly it was not; to us nothing has been given, and on this point we have nothing for which to be thankful. Then we are asked, "Does the appointment of the Indian Law Commission threaten to be a useless measure!" That has been answered by my friend Mr. Dickens. But I say the act does not make such provisions in respect. All former Law Commissions with which I am acquainted were Parliamentary Commissions; the reports were made or at least submitted to Parliament, openly deliberated and legislated upon them. Here there is no provision in the Act to compel any reports, to stipulate for publicity. The reports may be made in secret to the Governor-General and adopted as far as he thinks fit, and Laws may be passed upon the reports without an individual having power to remonstrate against them, though they may be ruinous to his interests and opposed to all his feelings. From the nature of their duties the Commissioners may be many years (and to be form them properly some will at least be required) before a report may be hoped for or a code commenced. In my judgement, if their labours had rather been directed to the securing to all, the laws which belong to their religion, caste or country as they at present enjoy them; exemplifying the process, and reducing the expenses; facilitating the approach and opening the avenues to justice, and encreasing the number of Judges so that parties had not to travel, as in many districts now, 100 miles to the station where the Judge resides, it, I say, these lesser, but first; and more obvious had been submitted to them, they would have confered more real benefit upon the country, than by attempting in the first instance to form a code which ten years of previous labour and enquiry will scarcely allow them to commence. That the Law Commission was a most proper provision and its objects meritorious there can be no doubt, its utility has been left to depend on the discretion and personal character of the parties who are concerned in it, and that of the Governor-General, instead of being secured by legislative enactments, and provisions for publicity in it proceedings. Next—"Is the resolution to abolish all kind of slavery in the British Indian possessions, unpalatable or discreditable to the home government?" I know not where that resolution is to be found except in empty declaration. It appears to me that the effect of the Act is to reduce every man in India to a state of slavery. (*Loud Cheers.*) I beg a thousand pardons. I had nearly forgotten the only ground of complaint; Whether the writer of this article qualified and of himself has been able to discover even this blemish may be doubted. From his apparent admiration of the act I should rather take it for *Granted* that he had some assistance to the judgment he has formed on this point. I don't know from what source he has derived his sentiments—his unbounded respect for the independence of British judges. Who is independent conciliate or to please. I can hardly imagine—there is indeed only one English Judge now here, and if it is intended to conciliate his favor, I should hope—nay, I am sure, he is to independently to accept, or at least to be influenced by such a species of flattery. (*Cheers.*) But this is not the question for us—we are not met here to consider what may be palatable to any Judge whatever. We are to consider what is the best protection to the people, for whose benefit the Judge is placed in his station. In that point of view, I coincide in all the objections which can be urged to the destruction of the independence of the King's Courts. Situated as I am, I might possibly have felt some reluctance to touch upon this point, if it had not been opened by the Native gentleman behind me, and my motives may even yet be open to misrepresentation or misconception; but I cannot but say that I look upon the destruction or impairing of any of those checks upon power or misrule, which were reposed in the Supreme Court, or of its independence, as not among the least of the complaints to be urged by all British subjects and the inhabitants of Calcutta, against this Act that the Supreme Court was originally created as a protection against power and corruption, cannot be disputed, and I do say, that whatever objections may be raised to the Supreme Court, this Act is a complete violation of the principles upon which the Court was established, in the year 1773, for it places the Court under the Governor-General in Council, and gives him, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, the power of abolishing all the King's Courts. It had been said that it had been endeavored by many to raise every prejudice against the Court. It has been said that the natives of Calcutta have been ruined by it—this their assertion is to rest upon the authority of a gentlemen greatly esteemed here, and once high in office in this country, and who had since obtained, at least for a time, considerable influence on Indian matters at home. I am compelled, however, to say that, by whomever that may be asserted, it is false and unfavourable. Let me know who has been so ruined—point out to me the man who has spent more in litigation in the Supreme Court, than that which was required fairly to try the question of right or wrong, and I will soon satisfy any dispassionate enquirer, that if for from those vindictive or malignant feelings, which lead men to litigation, rather for the purpose of gratifying their own evil passions than for any trial of a right, and which no Court in this country can destroy or indeed controul, (*Cheers.*) That the Natives Calcutta may complain some what of the expense which is attached to that engine of protection, I will not attempt to deny; that it is expensive, though not as expensive as it is represented. I will not deny—for it is and necessarily must be, attended with a considerable degree of expense, as long as it shall be necessary to have English Judges and english Barristers, until the natives themselves shall be qualified equally well to fill those situations. In the nature of things European labour cannot be obtained here at the same rate as native labour can, still less so where a profession which requires laborious and expensive reducation. It is the same in every department of European labour in this country. I have no doubt you would find a native, who would be willing to undertake the duties of Governor-General—for less than Sa. Rs. 2,40,000. (*Laughter.*) I dare say you could find native members of Law Commissions and legislative council for less than £10,000 a year, and yet even now the Government and Court of Directors have thought fit to send you, to fill these important situations at that price, a gentleman highly celebrated for oratorical powers in the House of Commons and who once as a member of my profession, according to his own account, held a brief on which he convicted a boy of stealing chickens, rather than have recourse to the cheaper assistance of my native friends. (*Laughter*) I can find native secretaries and judges Sudder at less than 5,000 a year, but to say that the natives have been ruined by the Supreme Court, more than by the sums paid to other European functionaries, is to say what is contrary to the fact. Who is it that Mr. Hort Mackenzie referred to as ruined by the Supreme Court? I have heard that Ramrutton Mullick is one—the man from whom the Government, when Mr. H. Mackenzie was secretary, took nine lacks of rupees as a forfeit for not completing a purchase of salt, which they resold for a larger sum than that which he had purchased, and for the return of which he has still a petition pending before the Court of Directors. (*Cheers.*) But the question is whether those who participated in the protection which under former statutes it extended to them are willing to pay the price of that protection. I would willingly put it to those victims of the Supreme Court whether they would see it abolished, and I would stand or fall by their decision. If I could put the whole of the inhabitants I know they would say, we should wish the expense reduced but with all its expense we prefer it to any other tribunal, for there, whether particular decisions be right or wrong, justice is at least independently, honestly and fearlessly administered. I have a personal interest in this I admit, but it is one that does not belong to me alone, nor is it one which I could support, if the opinion of the inhabitants of Calcutta were against me. This at least I will venture to say, that there is not a man living who can point out a single instance, since the first institution of the Court in 1773, to the present moment, of corruption either of bench or Bar; nor do I believe there is one native inhabitant of Calcutta who would wish to see it abolished (*Cheers.*) If it is the expense of the Supreme Court which has influenced the legislature in any case whether the same principle has actuated them towards the other high branches of Government. You will recollect that the last eight years has been a period of unexampled retrenchment and distress, all the officers of Government have been curtailed in the scale of their remuneration—I beg pardon; all except the highest. (*Loud Cheers*) the civil service has suffered; the army who could least afford it, has suffered; they have taken from the officer allowances which in the aggregate afford little to Government, but which involves in many cases the ruin, at least the destruction of every comfort to the individual; the medical service in like manner has suffered, and during the same time the mercantile community has been overwhelmed with distress—a distress which has altered the whole aspect of affairs in India, at least in the Presidency of Bengal; knowing all this, knowing how retrenchment had been pursued here among the subordinates, how every man's income and prospects had been curtailed. Yet not one particle has been taken from the Governor-General, the Members of Council, or the Judges. (*Cheers.*) The framers of this Act have, on the contrary, inserted a clause to keep up, and for the present indeed to increase the salaries of the Governor-General and the Members of Council (*Loud Cheers*) When I allude to the reductions which have taken place do not suppose I am saying that when the exigency of the state requires it reductions ought not to be made. When the just purposes of Government demand it, all must submit to it, and ought to do so without a murmur; but I say in that case it ought to be, and in those which have taken place, if they were proper, it ought to have been in fairness a rateable reduction excluding none from its operation, but pressing equally upon all, (*Cheers,*) and that the subordinates ought not to suffer whilst the high classes are left untouched. And yet it does so happen, that in this very Act a rather curious alteration have been made, whether in anticipation of the difference in the rate of exchange I cannot say. By the former Act the Governor General had £25,000, now he has two lacks and 40,000 Sicca Rupees. It would seem to be a reduction; but put that into pounds, shillings and pence, at the exchange of the day, two shillings and two pence, and you will find £10,000 a year has been put into his pocket—this was accident doubtless, for I do not suppose they had the gift of prophecy on the subject of the exchange, but it is a singular coincidence. (*Cheers and Laughter.*) A few words now, Gentlemen with regard to the financial arrangements with the East India Company at home. The great objections to that are the extent of the dividend given to the proprietors, the increase as their stock fixing £100 stock at £200 sterling. The throwing the commercial debts on the territorial revenues and exonerating from all liability the dividends of the proprietors. To me the latter appears to be little less than a fraud upon the public creditor in India. There are those who recollect the Company's securities bearing 12 per cent. interest, and being at a discount. At that time people came forward and put money to the Company; they did that not only upon the security of the territorial revenue but upon the security of every thing which the proprietors of East India Stock possessed. The claims of the lenders were necessarily prior to the interests, and even to the profits to be received by the borrowers; but by this act the proprietors of East India Stock are to get their enormous dividend out of the revenue, whoever may go unpaid, and those who lent their money to the proprietors have their chief security taken from them, What by the operation of this provision all motives for economy is taken away—however lavish they may be it cannot diminish their dividend—however parsimonious it cannot increase it, Whatever they give, they pay nothing. I congratulate Ramrutton Mullick, and others who have claims for composition, upon these increased prospects success, for the proprietors may well now be liberal when they have to pay away other peoples money. Whether this arrangement was considered advantageous to the East India Company, may at once be seen by the result. What was the actual and instantaneous effect of the agreement? Why the stock which was under 200 per cent, before the arrangement rose immediately about 240—that is every shareholder gained more than 20 per cent, at once added to his capital. Does not this prove the absurdity and impolicy of the arrangement as far as the British Government are concerned, and the injustice of throwing such an onerous burthen upon the territorial revenue of this country? But it has had its effect upon their liberality already sufficiently apparent. Their home servants, I contend, have always been paid more liberally in proportion than their servants in this country; if you take into consideration the destruction of health and constitution, the danger to life, the banishment, nay I may say the imprisonment, which service in this country involves. How when their home servants paid, and what were their retiring pensions infinitely higher in proportion—both the one and the other, than those of the generality of their servants in this country? I am told that the Company gave to their tea taster £2 000 a year a pretty liberal allowance for tasting tea. (*Laughter.*) If they would be content with morning and evenings tasting, I should like to contract to do the work for one tenth of that sum. (*Laughter*) and now they have no more tea to taste you will find they have given him a most liberal compensation—so again with reward to lately voted to the members of their maritime service—a most meritorious class of servants no doubt, but the compensation is seen most extravagant, with pensions of £250 a year for life, I think, with reversion of some portion to his wife and children, and that when one is probably in the prime of life, with the world before him and his profession open to him—and so in proportion with the other grades. Is not this an indication that the proprietors, now they are sure of their dividends, do not care how much they gave away? Has the alteration in patronage been made with a more considerate view to the interest of the public—what alteration has been made by the act? Only giving an increase of patronage to the Board of Control and Court of Directors. (*Cheers.*) But what provision has been made to secure, by the distribution of the patronage, better servants for India or what means of rewarding merit or services? None whatever. Mr. Canning and Mr. Wynn both endeavored, I believe, to direct some portion of the patronage to the reward of merit at the public Seminaries of England, There is no trace of such a desire in the present act. I have heard that some years ago many officers having fallen in the wars of India, leaving little or no means of support for their wives and children, the Lord Hastings, sent home and urged with all his influence petitions praying that their claims might be taken into consideration, and some small portion of the patronage of the Company extended to those orphans whose fathers had fallen on the field of battle. I have heard that those petitions were indignantly returned, with a statement that the patronage of the Court was the patronage of each individual Director and could not be interfered with (*Loud Cheers.*) And thus it remains at the present moment, as the means of paying the Directors, who have only £300 a year salary. I say the British legislature ought not to allow the continuance of such a system. Well do those who have distributed the patronage of His Majesty's Army the justice to say that is not the case with regard to that army. I will do the same justice to His Majesty's Ministers, be they who they may—the claims of children of meritorious public servants have not often been overlooked—but no such principle is recognized by the East India Company. (*Cheers*) Again, has the act been more active to the improvement of the country then the former acts. By the 53. George 3—a lack of rupees was directed to be given annually for the purposes of education—what has been done with that I do not know, probably it has been duly laid out, but in the present act I do not find the appropriation of one single rupee to any Indian purpose whatever—nothing is directed to be spent upon education, roads, or canals, or any work of publick utility—all the surplus is required to keep up the enormous dividend of the home proprietors. (*Cheers.*) And this whilst Court of Directors are unable to give a number of Courts of justice adequate to the wants of the people. There are in truth only two Courts in the whole presidency of Bengal, the Supreme Court and the Sadar Adawlut, the rest are simply single individuals. How independent from the feeling of Parliament in the year 1773, when the East India Company having applied to "borrow a sum of money from the British Parliament, resolutions were proposed by Lord North, and carried, that the Company should not be at liberty to encrease their dividend beyond six per cent, till they had paid that debt, or beyond seven per cent till their bond debt was reduced to £1,500,000—that principle also has been lost sight of and they are to receive 10 per cent, without paying any of theirs debts, or providing even for the due administration of justice. One other point alone, but that a most important one, remains on which I shall detain you: I mean the providing some sort of legislative representation I may be asked from what class shall the representatives be chosen? I do not care. But will it be contended that India cannot furnish them; that out of ninety millions of persons of the governed and some thousands of intelligent Europeans, of the nation of the governors, there are none to be found capable of advising the government? I do not contend even that they should have absolute legislative powers; give the same power as at present if you will to the Governor General as to adopting or rejecting laws—but will any man tell me that all the inhabitant of all the presidencies are so destitute of knowledge, of information and ability, that you cannot find one, or ten, or a hundred if need be, who could assist the government in its work of legislation? There is not a petty colony in the West Indies—there is not a convict colony belonging to His Majesty, which has not some semblance of representation—they may have more or less power—but do not tell me that all you can do for India in the way of a legislative council is to send out a gentleman of great oratorical powers as fourth member of council, who is also to be the head of a law commission which has been in existence a year and has not sat a day. All my predilections, gentlemen, are in favor of the men who passed this Act, but I do say that I never saw a worse Bill passed by any Parliament reformed or unreformed, or one that evince less consideration for the interests of those who ought to have been first considered and more consideration for the interests of those who ought in common honesty to have been last considered. (Loud Cheers.) Idleness, carelessness, recklessness, of the rights and liberties of those to be governed, are its great characteristics. There is not one provision contained in it for which we could be thankfull, to which some clause is not tacked, rendering it a mere illusion. Believing this and feeling that as an Englishman, I am in danger of being deprived of British Laws, which I consider as my birth right whilst no other inhabitant of India has reason to be graceful, I have given all the assistance in my power to inform the Commissions of England what the people of Calcutta think of this measure. The time chosen for the meeting which has been objected to, is, I say, a good one—even if it be late I say better late than never. But if we had come forward sooner, it might have been said we acted with precipitation—the Charter had yet scarcely been acted upon—the Government of Agra had not been opened—the Governor of Agra was still Resident in Calcutta—Vice President in Council—whilst the Governor-General and Commons of India (the one member of it) were enjoying themselves in the salubrious air of the Neilgherry Hills, and the law commission was not even filled up. If, however, we have been late in coming forward the inhabitants of Calcutta do not seem to evince an indifference to the subject. There is one thing that cannot be said—whether we are right or wrong in the view which we take of the subject, that there has not been as large and as auxious and as pleasant assembly this day of the inhabitants of Calcutta as was ever collected in this place for the purposes of a public meeting. To their kindness, and to their patience, I am myself deeply indebted, but it would not have borne to have been thus pressed upon, except for the interest which the subject, and not what has been said has excited. If I have warmly expressed myself, I am sure is not one who knows me who will not believe there is no person more sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the country at large, or of the mother country, to which I hope to return, than myself and they know the predelictions which I state true—but while I live in any community I will not sit down calmly under a sense of injustice by whomsoever committed without expressing my sentiments. (Loud Cheers.) If this meeting had not come forward, I should have presented a petition in my own name, and in the names of those who have acted with me. I rather think I shall do so still, for I like plain speaking, and I should go a little further than this petition. I have, however, no right to pledge others to a similar extent—but we have at least a right to expect, and the petition hardly asks for more than as good a Government as that bestowed upon Ceylon, a country somewhat similiarly situated but more happy at present in its constitution for there is an approach there to settlers better Legislative Council, and what is perhaps of has much important—publicity in its proceedings. Has this part of India a right to expect less! and we may at least hope that there never was a period when the inhabitants of Bengal forfeited their right to good, to free, and liberal Government by disaffection or disturbance. (*Loud Cheers.*) I will now gentlemen read to you the petition that has been prepared for your adoption.

Mr. Turton here read the petition, a copy of which was inserted in the *Durbaru* of Friday last, and concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That the Petition just read be adopted as the Petition of the Inhabitants of Calcutta and be presented to both Houses of Parliament."

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Mr. *Burkinyoung.* Gentlemen, it may seem presumptuous in me to come forward to second this resolution, but concuring in all the sentiments expressed in the petition, and knowing that others around me entertain the same feeling, I do so with great pleasure. I will not detain you at this late hour by adding any thing more.

The Resolution as proposed by Mr. Turton, was then put by the Sheriff, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Hare. Gentlemen, allow me to say that when I look around me, and see so many natives coming forward in association with Europeans to support their rights, I feel this to be a proud day for India. (*Cheers.*) I have been at very many meetings in this city, but I never recollect seeing one more numerous or more respectable. (*Cheers.*) It has also befal my lot to have attended a great number of public meetings in England, and if I recollect right, it was the custom for the Sheriff to sign the petition on behalf of all. In accordance with that custom I now move—

"That the Sheriff do sign on behalf of the inhabitants the respective Petitions now adopted by this meeting."

This Resolution was seconded by Mr. Hogg, put by the Sheriff, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Dickens I have now to submit to you a proposition which is necessary to give effect to what has been done I therefore move—

"That a Committe of the following gentlemen, be appointed to have the several Petition nows read, and adopted, engrossed, and when signed by the Sheriff on behalf of the Meeting presented respectively to his Lordship the Governor General, and the two Houses of Parliament,

W. Adam.	C. Hogg.
Dwarkanauth Tagore.	F. H. Burkinyoung.
Russik Lal Mullick.	D. Hare.
E. M. Gordon.	T. E. M. Turton.
Russumoy Dutt.	W. Young.
T. Dickens.	J. Sutherland.
L. L. Clarke.	

The above resolution, having been seconded, was put by the Sheriff and carried unanimously.

Mr. *Longueville Clarke.* Gentlemen, before we separate, we have still one duty to discharge, and a pleasing duty it will be to us all. It is to offer our thanks to the Sheriff for the manner in which he has presided in the Chair. But I must not permit this opportunity to pass without congratulating you, that the first meeting at which the proper constitutional officer of the city has presided, should have been so numerously and so respectably attended and convened for objects so important to us all. One objection which has frequently and not improperly been urged to placing the Sheriff in the Chair at our public meetings, will, in a great measure, be removed should the prayer of your first petition prove successful. It has constantly occurred, that the Sheriff was in the service of the Company, and the very object of the meeting, or what transpired at it, might place him in a painful situation, and he might be exposed to reproof, for permitting sentiments to be uttered, which would be considered as opposed to the interests of those whom he served. But should your Petition succeed, and this most illegal and obnoxious order of the Court of Directors cease to be acted upon then that direct interference which is now assumed by the Government over our public Meetings will be at an end, and their servants will be more independent in the discharge of their duties as citizens. But while I congratulate you, Gentlemen, I must also congratulate our Sheriff, that it should have fallen to his lot to be the first constitutional officer of this city, who filled the Chair, at a meeting so numerous, and I say that this is an object of great congratulation, for attempts have not been spared, to sow dissension among us. But the attempt has signally failed, and although repeated in the *Englishman* of this morning, and a cry sent forth that those who coincided with the writer should rally to support his views, yet these views have met with no countenance and the writer himself has departed. Gentlemen, this cannot but remind you of what was sung by the Poet, that.

> "He who fights and runs away
> Will live to fight another day:
> But he who's in the battle slain;
> Will never live to fight again" (*Laughter.*)

So sung the Poet, and it would appear that the prudence which he inculcates has not been thrown away on the prose writer of this paper. (Laughter.) I have hitherto abstained from addressing you, gentlemen, under the expectation that these articles in the *Englishman* were but the prelude of an opposition which would be offered; for that opposition I reserved myself, for I prefer speaking, in reply, and I knew that the resolutions needed no support from me, when the zeal and abilities of my friends were insted in their behalf. Had the attempt been made to divide the meeting, I would have been prompt to oppose it, but as it was not, I have abstained from intruding on your time further than to discharge this pleasing duty of moving that our thanks be given to our Chairman.

The motion was carried unanimously, the Sheriff then returned thanks, and the meeting broke up.—*Bengal Hurkaru, Jany.*

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